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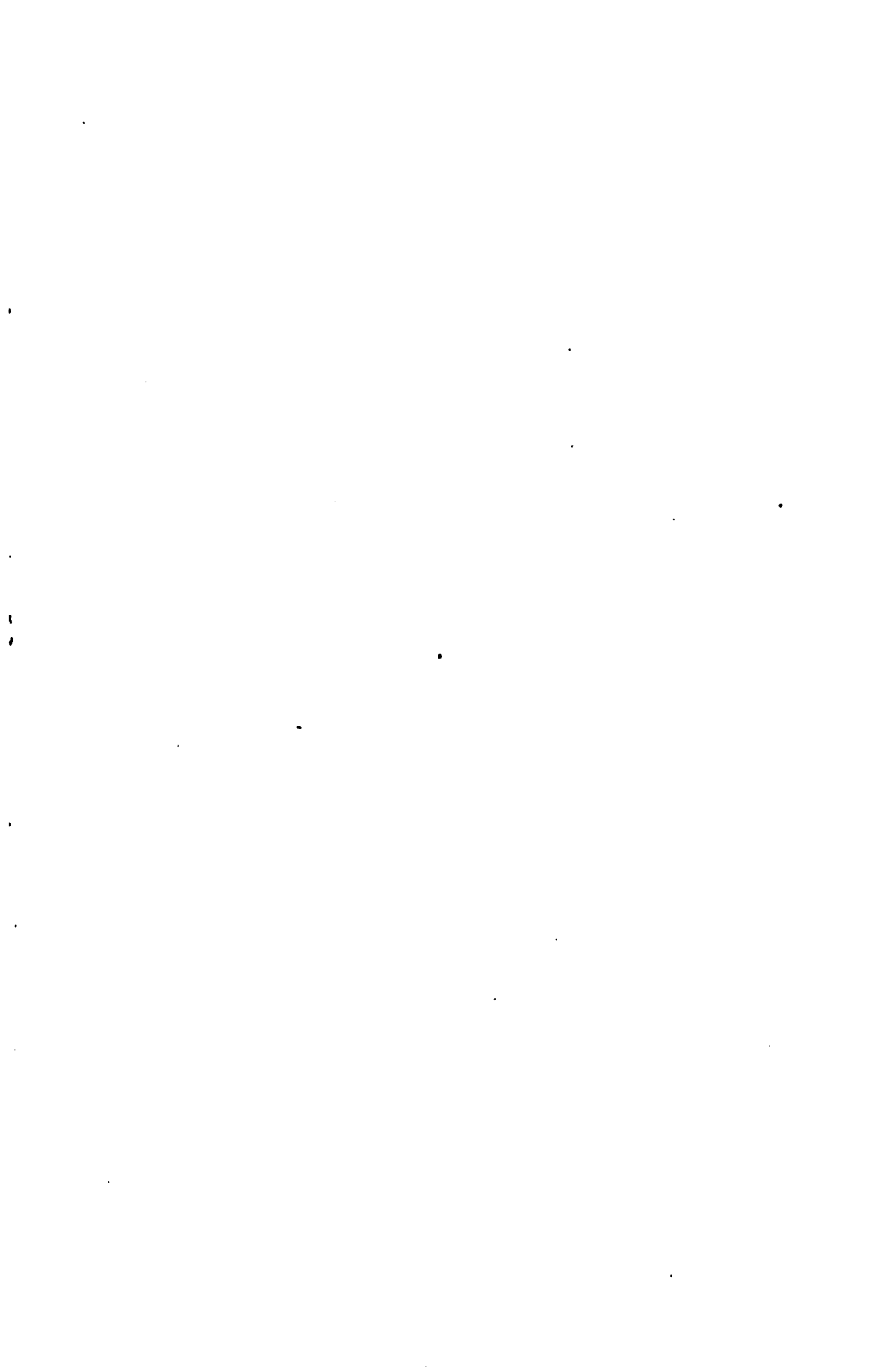
WESTMINSTER ABBEY

I.

THE FOUNDATION — THE CORONATIONS —
THE ROYAL TOMBS



THE CORONATION CHAIR.





THE ABBEY FROM DEANS YARD WESTMINSTER.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

1881

2

1881



THE ABBEY FROM DEANS YARD WESTMINSTER.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS
OF
WESTMINSTER ABBEY

BY
ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.
Late Dean of Westminster
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

*FIRST AMERICAN FROM THE SIXTH LONDON EDITION
WITH THE AUTHOR'S FINAL REVISIONS*

With Illustrations

VOLUME I.
THE FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY—THE CORONATIONS—
THE ROYAL TOMBS

NEW YORK
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1887

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'The Abbey of Westminster hath been always held the greatest sanctuary and randevouze of devotion of the whole island; whereunto the situation of the very place seems to contribute much, and to strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders.'

HOWELL's *Perlustration of London* (1657), p. 346.

University Press:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

TO
HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF LOYAL AND RESPECTFUL GRATITUDE

Is Dedicated

THIS HUMBLE RECORD
OF THE ROYAL AND NATIONAL SANCTUARY
WHICH HAS FOR CENTURIES ENSHRINED
THE VARIED MEMORIES OF HER AUGUST ANCESTORS
AND THE MANIFOLD GLORIES OF HER FREE AND FAMOUS KINGDOM
AND WHICH WITNESSED THE SOLEMN CONSECRATION
OF HER OWN AUSPICIOUS REIGN
TO ALL HIGH AND HOLY PURPOSES

NOTE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

This volume is printed from the copy left by the Dean at his death, and containing his final corrections and additions.

Easter, 1882.

P R E F A C E.

THE following Work was undertaken, in great measure, in consequence of the kind desire expressed by many friends, chiefly by my honoured colleagues in the Chapter of Westminster, on occasion of the Eight Hundredth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Abbey, that I would attempt to illustrate its history by Memorials similar to those which, in former years, I had published in connection with Canterbury Cathedral. Such a proposal was in entire consonance with my own previous inclinations; but I have undertaken it not without much misgiving.

The task was one which involved considerable research, such as, amidst the constant pressure of other and more important occupations, I was conscious that I could ill afford to make. This difficulty has been in part met by the valuable co-operation which I have received from persons the best qualified to give it. Besides the facilities rendered to me by the members and officers of our own Capitular and Collegiate Body, to whom I here tender my grateful thanks, I may especially name Mr. Joseph Burt, of the Public Record Office, whose careful arrangement of our Archives during the last three years has given him ample oppor-

tunities for bringing any new light to bear on the subject; the lamented Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, who was always ready to supply, from his copious stores, any knowledge bearing on the Northern Kingdom; the Rev. John Stoughton, who has afforded me much useful information on the Nonconformist antiquities of the Abbey; Mr. Thoms, the learned Editor of 'Notes and Queries,' and Sub-Librarian of the House of Lords; Mr. George Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery; Mr. Doyne C. Bell, of the Privy Purse, Buckingham Palace; and Colonel Chester, a distinguished antiquarian of the United States,¹ who, with a diligence which spared no labour, and a disinterestedness which spared no expenditure, has at his own cost edited and illustrated with a copious accuracy which leaves nothing to be desired, the Registers of the Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in the Abbey.

For such inaccuracies as must be inevitable in a work covering so large a field, I must crave, not only the indulgence, but the corrections of those whose longer experience of Westminster and whose deeper acquaintance with English history and literature will enable them to point out errors which have doubtless escaped my notice in this rapid survey.

After all that has been written on the Abbey, it would be absurd for any modern work to make pretensions to more than a rearrangement of already existing

¹ For the verification of statements and references in the earlier Chapters, I am in a great measure indebted to Mr. Frank Scott Haydon and Mr. Edward Rhodes, of the Public Record Office; and for the Index to my friend Mr. George Grove, and to Mr. Henry F. Turle.

materials. It may be as well briefly to enumerate the authorities from which I have drawn.

I. The original sources, some of which have been hardly accessible to former explorers, are —

1. The ARCHIVES preserved in the Muniment Chamber of the Abbey. These reach back to the Charters of the Saxon Kings. They were roughly classified by Widmore, in the last century, and have now undergone a thorough and skilful examination under the care of Mr. Burt of the Public Record Office (see *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, p. 135).

2. The CHAPTER BOOKS, which reach from 1542 to the present time, with the exception of two important blanks — from 1554 to 1558, under the restored Benedictines of Queen Mary; and from 1642 to 1662, under the Commissioners of the Commonwealth.

3. The REGISTERS of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, mentioned p. 136.

4. The PRECENTOR'S BOOK, containing a partial record of customs during the last century.

5. The 'CONSUETUDINES' of Abbot WARE, and

6. The MS. HISTORY OF THE ABBEY by FLETE, both mentioned vol. iii. p. 2.

7. The MSS. in the Heralds' and Lord Chamberlain's Offices.

8. The 'INVENTORY OF THE MONASTERY,' lately discovered at the Land Revenue Record Office by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, and printed in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iv.

II. The chief printed authorities are : —

1. *Reges, Reginae et Nobiles in Ecclesia Beati Petri Westmonasteriensis Sepulti*, by WILLIAM CAMDEN (1600, 1603, and 1606).

2. *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, by HENRY KEEPE (usually signed H. K.), 1683.

3. *Antiquities of St. Peter's*, by J. CRULL (usually signed J. C., sometimes H. S.) [These three works relate chiefly to the Monuments.]

4. *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of Westminster*, by JOHN DART (2 vols. folio, 1723).

5. *History of the Church of St. Peter, and Inquiry into the Time of its First Foundation*, by RICHARD WIDMORE, Librarian to the Chapter and Minor Canon of Westminster 1750 (carefully based on the original Archives).

6. *History of the Abbey*, by R. AKERMAN (2 vols. royal 4to, 1812).

7. *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, by JOHN NEALE and EDWARD BRAYLEY (2 vols. folio, 1818). [This is the most complete work.]

8. *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, under the supervision of GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT (2d edit. 1863), by various contributors (chiefly architectural).

To these must be added the smaller but exceedingly useful works—PETER CUNNINGHAM'S *Handbook of Westminster Abbey*, and MR. RIDGWAY'S *Gem of Thorney Island*; and the elaborate treatises of STOW, MALCOLM, and MAITLAND, on London; of SMITH, BRAYLEY, and WALCOTT, on Westminster; and of CARTER, GOUGH, and WEEVER, on sepulchral monuments in general.

III. In turning from the sources of information to the use made of them, a serious difficulty occurred. Here, as in the case of Canterbury Cathedral, it was my intention to confine myself strictly to the *historical* memorials of the place, leaving the architectural and purely antiquarian details to those who have treated them in the works to which I have already referred.¹

¹ Documents of this kind, not before published, or not generally accessible, were printed in the Appendix to the earlier editions of this work.

But the History of Westminster Abbey differs essentially from that of Canterbury Cathedral, or, indeed, of any other ecclesiastical edifice in England. In Canterbury I had the advantage of four marked events, or series of events, of which one especially — the murder of Becket — whilst it was inseparably entwined with the whole structure of the building, was capable of being reproduced, in all its parts, as a separate incident. In Westminster no such single act has occurred. The interest of the place depends (as I have pointed out in Chapter I.) on the connection of the different parts with the whole, and of the whole with the general History of England. These 'HISTORICAL MEMORIALS' ought to be, in fact, 'The History of England in Westminster Abbey.' Those who are acquainted with M. Ampère's delightful book, *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome*, will appreciate at once the charm and the difficulty of such an undertaking. In order to accomplish it, I was compelled, on the one hand, to observe as far as possible a chronological arrangement, such as is lost in works like Neale's or Cunningham's, which necessarily follow the course of the topography. But, on the other hand, the lines of interest are so various and so divergent, that to blend them in one indiscriminate series would have confused relations which can only be made perspicuous by being kept distinct. At the cost therefore of some repetition, and probably of some misplacements, I have treated each of these subjects by itself, though arranging them in the sequence which was engendered by the historical order of the events.

The Foundation of the Abbey,¹ growing out of the

¹ Chapter I.

physical features of the locality, the legendary traditions, and the motives and character of Edward the Confessor, naturally forms the groundwork of all that succeeds.

From the Burial of the Confessor, and the peculiar circumstances attendant upon it, sprang the Coronation of William the Conqueror, which carries with it the Coronations of all future Sovereigns. These scenes were, perhaps, too slightly connected with the Abbey to justify even the summary description which I have given. But the subject, viewed as a whole, is so curious, that I may be pardoned for having endeavoured to concentrate in one focus these periodical pageants, which certainly have been regarded as amongst the chief glories of the place.¹

The Tombs of the Kings, as taking their rise from the Burial of Henry III. by the Shrine of the Confessor, followed next; and their connection with the structure of the Church is so intimate, that this seemed the most fitting point at which to introduce such notices of the architectural changes as were compatible with the plan of the work. This Chapter² accordingly contains the key of the whole.

From the Burials of the Kings followed, in continuous order, the interments of eminent men. These I have endeavoured to track in the successive groups of Courtiers, Warriors, and Statesmen, through the marked epochs of Richard II., of Elizabeth, and of the Commonwealth, ending with the Statesmen's Corners in the North Transept and the Nave. In like manner the

¹ Chapter II.

² Chapter III.

Men of Letters, and of Arts and Sciences, are carried through the various links which, starting from the Grave of Chaucer in Poets' Corner, include the South Transept, and the other Chapels whither by degrees they have penetrated. I have also added to these such Graves or Monuments as, without falling under any of the foregoing heads, yet deserve a passing notice.¹

There still remained the outlying edifices of the Abbey, which necessitated a brief sketch of the history of the events and personages (chiefly ecclesiastical) that have figured within the Precincts before and since the Reformation. For these two Chapters, as a general rule, I have reserved the burial-places of the Abbots and Deans. In the first period,² I have thought it best to include the whole history of such buildings as the Chapter House, the Treasury, and the Gatehouse, although in so doing it was necessary to anticipate what properly belongs to the second division of the local history. Only such details are given as were peculiar to Westminster, without enlarging on the features common to all Benedictine monasteries. Again I have, in the period since the Reformation,³ reserved for a single summary all that related to the local reminiscences of the Convocations that have been held within the Precincts. The History of Westminster School, which opened a larger field than could be conveniently included within the limits of this work, I have noticed only so far as was necessary to give a general survey of the destination of the whole of the Conventual build-

¹ Chapter IV.

² Chapter V.

³ Chapter VI.

ings, and to form a united representation of the whole Collegiate Body during some of the most eventful periods of its annals.

In treating subjects of this wide and varied interest, I have endeavoured to confine myself to such events and such remarks as were essentially connected with the localities. In so doing I have, on the one hand, felt bound to compress the notices of personages or incidents that were too generally known to need detailed descriptions; and, on the other hand, to enlarge on some of the less familiar names, which, without some such explanation, would lose their significance. I have also not scrupled to quote at length many passages — sometimes celebrated, sometimes, perhaps, comparatively unknown — which, from their intrinsic beauty, have themselves become part of the History of the Abbey. This must be the excuse, if any be needed, for the numerous citations from Shakspeare, Fuller, Clarendon, Addison, Gray, Walpole, Macaulay, Irving, and Froude. The details of the pageants, unless when necessary for the historical bearing of the events, I have left to be examined in the authorities to which I have referred.

IV. I cannot bring this survey of the History of the Abbey to a conclusion, without recurring for a moment to various suggestions which were made, by those interested in the subject, at the time of the celebration of the Eighth Centenary of the Foundation. Some — the most important — have, happily, been carried out. By the liberality of Parliament, under the auspices, first of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cowper Temple in 1865,

and then of Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Henry Lennox in 1875, the ancient Chapter House has been restored. By the aid of the Ecclesiastical Commission, an apparatus for warming has been carried through the whole edifice, materially conducive to the preservation of the Fabric and the Monuments, as well as to the convenience of Public Worship. The erection of a new Reredos, more worthy of so august a sanctuary, has at length been completed, under the care of the Subdean, Lord John Thynne, to whose long and unfailing interest in the Abbey its structure and arrangements have been so much indebted.

In addition to these improvements, it has been often suggested that none would add so much to the external beauty of the Building, without changing its actual proportions, or its relations to past history, as the restoration of the Great Northern Entrance to something of its original magnificence, which has almost disappeared under the alterations of later times. In this plan for glorifying the main approach to the Abbey from the great thoroughfare of the Metropolis much progress has been made since the work was published.

The Royal Monuments — after a long discussion occasioned by a Report presented in 1854, by the distinguished Architect of the Abbey, Sir Gilbert Scott, to Sir W. Molesworth, then First Commissioner of Public Works — were in 1869, at the advice of a Commission of eminent antiquaries, successfully cleaned from the incrustation which had obliterated their original gilding and delicate workmanship. This work, which was originated for the Tudor tombs, by Mr. Layard, was

completed for the Plantagenet tombs under his successor Mr. Ayrton.

The Private Monuments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offer less difficulty. I have much pleasure in expressing my grateful sense of the promptitude with which the Cecil, Russell, Sidney, and Lennox tombs have, by the noble and illustrious Houses which they represent, been restored to their original splendour, yet so as not to interfere with the general harmony of the surrounding edifice. These examples, it is hoped, will be followed up generally.

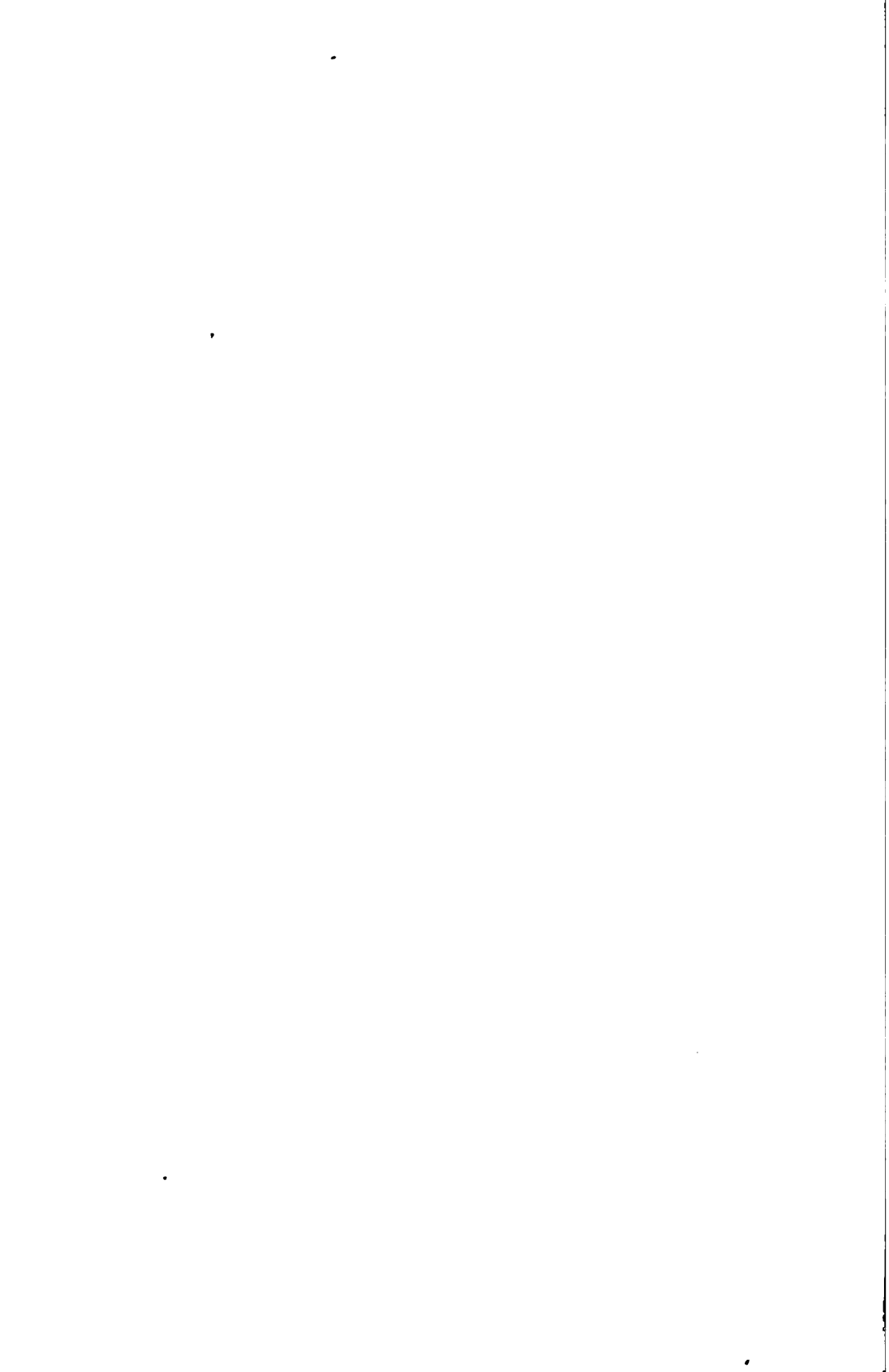
The question of the later Monuments is sufficiently discussed in the account of them in the pages of this work.¹ Doubtless, some rearrangement and reduction might with advantage take place. But, even where the objections of the representatives of the deceased can be surmounted, constant care is needed not to disturb the historical associations which in most cases have given a significance to the particular spots occupied by each. Each must thus be considered on its own merits. One measure, however, will sooner or later become indispensable, if the sepulchral character of the Abbey is to be continued into future times, for which, happily, the existing arrangements of the locality give ample facilities. It has been often proposed that a Cloister should be erected, communicating with the Abbey by the Chapter House, and continued on the site of the present Abingdon Street, facing the Palace of Westminster on one side, and the College Garden on the other. Such a building, the receptacle not of any of the existing Monu-

¹ See Chapter IV.

ments (which would be yet more out of place there than in their present position), but of the Graves and the Memorials of another thousand years of English History, would meet every requirement of the future, without breaking with the traditions of the past.

I have ventured to throw out these suggestions, as relating to improvements which depend on external assistance. For such as can be undertaken by our Collegiate Body — for all measures relating to the conservation and repair of the fabric, and to the extension of the benefits of the institution — I can but express my confident hope that they will, as hitherto, receive every consideration from those whose honour is so deeply involved in the usefulness, the grandeur, and the perpetuity of the venerable and splendid edifice of which we are the appointed guardians, and which lies so near our hearts.

June, 1876.



NOTE TO THE FOURTH ENGLISH EDITION

(WHICH IS IN ONE VOLUME).

IN order to ease the bulk of this volume, I have omitted from it the various documents which, having been printed in the three previous Editions, are there available for any who wish to refer to them, but are hardly required for general readers. I subjoin a list:—

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Roman capital letters	indicate	. . .	Royal persons
" smaller ditto	"	. . .	Military and Naval men
" small letters	"	. . .	Literary men
" ditto, with spaces between the letters			Other famous personages
Italic capital letters	"	. . .	Statesmen
" small ditto	"	. . .	Ecclesiastics
o	"	. . .	Monuments
.	"	. . .	Graves

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

EVENTS CONNECTED WITH WESTMINSTER ABBEY.¹

A. D.		A. D.	
153?	Fall of the Temple of Apollo?	1087	Coronation of William Rufus, Sept. 26.
90-190?	Foundation of the Abbey by Lucius?	1098	Opening of the Confessor's Coffin by Gundulph and Gislebert.
616?	Foundation by Sebert and Vision of Edric?	1100	Building of New Palace of Westminster. Coronation of Henry I., Aug. 5. " of Matilda, Nov. 11.
785?	Charter of Offa?	1102	Council under Anselm.
951?	" of Edgar?	1115	Consecration of Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, Sept. 19.
1042	Fulfillment of the Vow of Edward the Confessor to St. Peter.	1118	Burial of Matilda, May 1.
1049	<i>Edwin, Abbot.</i> Embassy to Reims.	1120	<i>Herbert, Abbot.</i> Consecration of David of Ban- gor, April 4.
1050	Foundation of the Abbey.	1124	Council under John of Crema.
1065	Dedication of the Abbey, Dec. 28.	1135	Coronation of Stephen, Dec. 26.
1066	Death of the Confessor, Jan. 5. Burial of the Confessor, Jan. 6. Coronation of Harold (?), Jan. 6. Coronation of William the Conqueror, Dec. 25.	1140	<i>Gervase, Abbot.</i>
1068	Coronation of Matilda, May 11. <i>Geoffrey, Abbot.</i>	1154	Coronation of Henry II., Dec. 19.
1069	Imprisonment of Egelric, Bishop of Durham.	1160	<i>Lawrence, Abbot.</i>
1072	Egelric buried.	1163	Canonisation of the Confessor, and First Translation of his Remains, Oct. 18.
1076	First Council of Westminster under Lanfranc. Miracle of Wolfstan's Crozier. <i>Vitalis, Abbot.</i>	1170	Coronation of Prince Henry, June 14.
1082	<i>Gislebert, Abbot.</i>	1176	Council of Westminster, and Struggle of the Primates.

¹ When the table contains reference to the burial of illustrious persons in the Abbey, the date of their burial is given; where they have only cenotaphs, then the date of their death.

A. D.		A. D.	
1186	Consecration of Hugh of Lincoln, Sept. 21.	1246	<i>Crokesley, Abbot.</i>
	Consecration of William of Worcester, Sept. 21.	1247	Fulk de Castro Novo buried. Deposition of Relics.
1189	Coronation of Richard I., Sept. 3.	1250	Chapter House begun. Richard of Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, buried.
	Consecration of Hubert of Salisbury and Godfrey of Winchester, Oct. 22.	1252	Excommunication of Transgressors of Magna Charta.
1191	<i>Postard, Abbot.</i>	1256	Parliament met in Chapter House, March 26.
1194	Consecration of Herbert of Salisbury, June 5.		Council of State in Chapter House.
1195	Trial between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot.	1257	Princess Catherine buried.
1197	Consecration of Robert of Bangor, March 16.	1258	<i>Lewisham, Abbot</i>
1198	Consecration of Eustace of Ely, March 8.	<i>Ware, Abbot.</i>	
1199	Consecration of William of London, May 23.	1261	Ford, Abbot of Glastonbury, buried.
	Coronation of John, May 27.	1263	Commons of London assemble in Cloisters.
1200	<i>Papillon, Abbot.</i>	1267	Mosaic Pavement brought from Rome.
	Consecration of John Gray of Norwich, Sept. 24.	1269	Second Translation of Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13.
	Consecration of Giles Braose of Hereford, Sept. 24.		Marriage of Edmond and Aveline, Earl and Countess of Lancaster.
1203	Consecration of William de Blois of Lincoln before the High Altar, Aug. 24.	1271	Heart of Prince Henry, Nephew to the King, placed near Confessor's Tomb.
	Consecration of Geoffrey of St. David's, Dec. 7.	1272	Burial of Henry III., Nov. 20.
1214	<i>Humes, Abbot.</i>	1273	Aveline of Lancaster buried.
1220	Foundation of Lady Chapel, May 16.	1274	Coronation of Edward I. and Eleanor, Aug. 19.
	Coronation of Henry III., May 17.	1281	Erection of the Tomb of Henry III.
1221	Consecration of Eustace of London, April 25.	1284	<i>Wenlock, Abbot.</i>
1222	<i>Barking, Abbot.</i>		Dedication of Coronet of Llewelyn to the Confessor.
1224	Consecration of William Brewer of Exeter, April 21.		Prince Alfonso buried, Aug 14.
	Consecration of Ralph Neville of Chichester, April 21.	1285	Statute 'Circumspecte Agatis.'
1226	Consecration of Thomas Blunville of Norwich, Dec. 20.	1290	Council of Westminster. Expulsion of the Jews from England.
1236	Marriage of Henry III. and Eleanor, Jan. 14.	1291	Reinterment of Henry III., and Delivery of his Heart to the Abbess of Fontevrault.
1244	Council of State held in Refectory.		Eleanor of Castile buried, Dec. 17.
1245	Rebuilding of the Abbey by Henry III.	1292	Withdrawal of Claims by John Baliol in Chapter House.
		1294	Inundation of the Thames.

A. D.		A. D.	
1294	Assembly of Clergy and Laity in Refectory.	1378	Murder of Sir John Hawle in the Abbey, Aug. 11.
1296	William of Valence buried. Edmund Crouchback buried. Dedication of the Stone of Scone.		Reopening of the Abbey, Dec. 8.
1303	Robbery of the Treasury.	1381	Outrage of Wat Tyler.
1307	Burial of Edward I., Oct. 27.	1383	Marriage of Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia, Jan. 23.
	Removal of Sebert.	1386	<i>William of Colchester, Abbot.</i>
1308	Coronation of Edward II., Feb. 25.	1391	Walter of Leycester buried.
	<i>Kydington, Abbot.</i>	1393	Statute of Præmunire passed in Chapter House.
1315	<i>Curtington, Abbot.</i>	1394	Burial of Anne of Bohemia.
1323	Aymer de Valence buried.	1395	John of Waltham buried.
1327	Coronation of Edward III., Feb. 1.	1396	Shackle buried.
1328	Coronation of Philippa, Feb. 2.		Sir John Golofre buried.
	Writ of Edward III. requiring the Abbot of Westminster to give up the Stone of Scone, July 21.	1397	Prince Thomas of Woodstock buried.
1334	<i>Henley, Abbot.</i>		Robert Waldeby buried.
	John of Eltham buried.	1399	Widow of Thomas of Woodstock buried.
1344	<i>Byrcheston, Abbot.</i>		Sir Bernard Brocas buried.
1345	Eastern Cloister finished.		Coronation of Henry IV., Oct. 13.
1348	The Black Death. Burial of twenty-six Monks.		Conspiracy of William of Colchester.
1349	<i>Langham, Abbot.</i>	1400	Chaucer buried.
1350	Statute of Provisions passed in Chapter House.	1403	Coronation of Joan.
	Continuation of Nave and Cloisters by Abbot Langham.	1413	Death of Henry IV. in Jerusalem Chamber, March 20.
1362	<i>Littlington, Abbot.</i>		Conversion of Henry V.
1363	Negotiations with David II. for the Restoration of the Stone of Scone.		Coronation of Henry V., April 9.
	Rebuilding of Abbot's House and of Jerusalem Chamber, and Building of South and West Cloisters, by Abbot Littlington.		Removal of body of Richard II. from Langley to Windsor.
1369	Burial of Philippa.	1413-1416	Prolongation of the Nave under Henry V. by Whittington.
1376	Langham buried.	1414	Sir John Windsor buried.
1377	Purchase of Tower which became the Jewel House, and later the Parliament Office, by Edward III.	1415	Richard Courtney, Bishop of Norwich, buried.
	Burial of Edward III.		Te Deum for the Battle of Agincourt, Nov. 23.
1377	Coronation of Richard II., July 16.	1421	Coronation of Catherine, Feb. 24.
			<i>Hawerden, Abbot.</i>
			Convention of Henry V. in Chapter House.
		1423	Burial of Henry V., Nov. 7.
		1429	Coronation of Henry VI., Nov. 6.
		1481	Louis Robsart buried.

A. D.		A. D.	
1433	Philippa, Duchess of York, buried.	1498	Decision of the Privy Council on the burial of Henry VI.
1437	Burial of Catherine of Valois, Feb. 8.	1500	<i>Islip, Abbot.</i>
1440	<i>Kyrton, Abbot.</i>	1503	Foundation of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Jan. 24.
1445	Coronation of Margaret, April 30.		Burial of Elizabeth of York, Feb. 25.
1457	Sir John Harpedon buried.	1504	Licence of Pope Julius II. for the removal of the body of Henry VI. to Westminster.
1451-1480	Visits of Henry VI. to the Abbey to choose his Grave.	1505	Sir Humphrey Stanley buried.
1461	Coronation of Edward IV., June 28.	1507	Sir Giles Daubeney buried.
1466	<i>Norwich, Abbot.</i>	1509	Infant Prince Henry buried.
1469	<i>Milling, Abbot.</i>		Burial of Henry VII., May 9.
1470	Humphrey Bourchier buried.		Coronation of Henry VIII., June 24.
	Lord Carew buried.		Margaret of Richmond buried.
	Elizabeth Woodville takes Sanctuary, Oct. 1.	1512	Attempt to rescue a Prisoner in Sanctuary.
	Edward V. born in the Sanctuary, Nov. 4.	1515	Reception of Wolsey's Hat, Nov. 18.
1473	Infant Margaret of York buried, Dec. 11.	1523	Convocation summoned by Wolsey.
1474	Milling consecrated to Hereford in the Lady Chapel, Aug. 21.		Ruthell, Bishop of Durham, buried.
	<i>Esteney, Abbot.</i>	1529	Convocation in the Chapter House.
1477	Caxton exercises his Art in the Abbey.	1531	Act of Submission, April 12.
1482	Dudley, Bishop of Durham, buried.		Death of Skelton in the Sanctuary, buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard.
1483	Elizabeth Woodville and Richard of York take refuge in the Abbot's Hall, and take Sanctuary a second time, April.	1532	Abbot Islip buried.
	Coronation of Richard III., July 8.		<i>Boston or Benson, Abbot.</i>
1485	Anne Neville, Queen of Richard III., buried.	1533	Coronation of Anne Boleyn, June 1.
	Coronation of Henry VII., Oct. 30.	1534	Imprisonment of Sir Thomas More in Abbot's House.
1487	Coronation of Elizabeth of York, Nov. 25.	1539	<i>Benson, Dean.</i>
1491	Caxton buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard.	1540	Convocation in the Chapter House on Anne of Cleves, July 7.
1492	Bishop Milling buried.		Consecration of Thirlby to the see of Westminster, Dec. 19.
1495	Princess Elizabeth buried, Sept.	1542	First Orders of Dean and Chapter.
1498	<i>Fascet, Abbot.</i>	1543	Nowell, Head-Master.
	Lord Wells buried in Lady Chapel.	1544	Bellinger appointed at request of Princess Elizabeth.
		1545	Consecration of Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, May 3.
			Great Refectory pulled down.

A. D.		A. D.	
1546	Robbery of Silver Head of Statue of Henry V., Jan. 3.	1557	Procession in the Abbey, Nov. 30.
1547	Last Sitting of Commons in Chapter House, Jan. 28. Coronation of Edward VI., Feb. 20. Chapter House used as a Record Office. Order for Twenty Tons of Caen Stone granted to the Protector Somerset. Order for selling 'Monuments of Idolatry,' and for buying Books.	1558	Paschal Candle restored, March 21. Master Wentworth buried, Oct. 22. Burial of Mary, Dec. 18. Obsequies of Charles V. celebrated, Dec. 24.
1549	Dean Benson buried. <i>Cox, Dean.</i> Substitution of 'Communion' for 'Mass,' and change of Vestments.	1559	Coronation of Elizabeth, Jan. 15. Conference between Protestants and Roman Catholics, March 31. Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, buried Dec. 5. Feckenham deprived, Jan. 4.
1551	Lord Wentworth buried, March 7. Redmayne buried. Monument erected to Chaucer.	1560	Feckenham's Farewell to the College Garden. Feckenham sent to the Tower, May 20.
1553	Burial of Edward VI., Aug. 8. Coronation of Mary, Oct. 1. Flight of Cox. <i>Weston, Dean.</i>	1561	<i>Bill, Dean.</i> Dean Bill buried, July 22. <i>Gabriel Goodman, Dean.</i>
1554	High Mass for opening of Parliament, Oct. 5. High Mass of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Nov. 30.	1562	Convocation in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Jan. 9-April 17. Signature of the Thirty-nine Articles, Jan. 29.
1555	Abbot <i>Feckenham</i> installed, Nov. 22. Feckenham and his Monks walk in procession, Dec. 6.	1566	Fall of the Sanctuary. Hangings of the Abbey given to the College.
1567	Shrine of the Confessor set up, Jan. 5. Remains of the Confessor restored to the Shrine, March 20. Sermons by Abbot Feckenham, April 5. Shrine visited by the Duke of Muscovy, April 21. Philip and Mary attend Mass, May 22. Burial of Anne of Cleves, Aug. 4. Master Gennings buried, Nov. 26.	1568	Lady Catherine Knollys buried. Anne Birkhead buried.
		1571	Sir R. Pecksall buried.
		1574	Library founded.
		1575	Christening of Elizabeth Russell.
		1577	Margaret Lennox buried.
		1580	Maurice Pickering, Keeper of Gatehouse.
		1584	Wm. Thynne buried. John, Lord Russell, buried.
		1586	Winyfred Bridges, Marchioness of Winchester, buried.
		1587	Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, buried. Sir Thomas Bromley buried.
		1588	Anne Vere, Countess of Oxford, buried.
		1589	Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, buried.

A. D.		A. D.	
1589	Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh, buried. Frances Howard, Countess of Sussex, buried.	1615	Arthur Agarde buried, Aug. 24. Arabella Stuart buried, Sept. 27.
1591	Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, buried. Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, buried.	1616	Beaumont buried. Bilson buried.
1593	Camden, Head-Master. Keeper appointed for the Monuments.	1617	Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, buried. <i>R. Tounson, Dean.</i>
1594	John de Burgh died.	1618	Sir George Fane buried. Sir W. Raleigh imprisoned in Gatehouse, Oct. 29. Sir W. Raleigh buried in St. Margaret's, Oct. 30.
1596	Lord Hunsdon buried. Sir John Puckering buried. Henry Noel buried.	1619	Sir Christopher Hatton buried. Monument erected to Spenser. Burial of Anne of Denmark, May 13.
1598	Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford, buried. Bells given by Dean Goodman. Sir Thomas Owen buried. Lord Burleigh buried. Sir R. Bingham died. Spenser buried.	1620	<i>John Williams, Dean.</i>
1599	Schoolroom constructed.	1621	Bishop Tounson buried. Lawrence the servant buried.
1601	Elizabeth Russell buried. Dean Goodman buried. <i>L. Andrewes, Dean.</i> Monument to Henry, Lord Norris, and his Sons. Consecration of Goodwin, Bishop of Llandaff, Nov. 22.	1622	Francis Holles died. Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, buried.
1602	Entire Suppression of Sanctuary Rights.	1623	Camden buried, Nov. 10.
1603	Burial of Elizabeth, April 28. Coronation of James I., July 25. Meeting of Convocation.	1624	Lewis Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, Feb. 17. Entertainment of the French Ambassadors in the Jerusalem Chamber, Dec. 15. Their attendance at the dinner in the College Hall.
1605	<i>R. Neale, Dean</i> , Nov. 5. Sir G. Villiers buried.	1625	Burial of James I., May 5.
1607	Infant Princess Sophia buried. Infant Princess Mary buried.	1626	Coronation of Charles I., Feb. 2. Sir Geo. Holles buried.
1609	Sir Francis Vere buried.	1627	Charles, Marquis of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, buried, March 16. Philip Fielding buried, June 11.
1610	<i>Georgs Montaigne, Dean.</i> Transference of the Body of Mary Stuart to Westminster, Oct. 4.	1628	George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Sept. 28.
1612	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, buried in her vault, Dec. 8.	1629	Lady Jane Clifford buried. Infant Prince Charles, May 13.
1614	Isaac Casaubon buried. Lady C. St. John buried. (Monument.)	1631	Sir James Fullerton buried, Jan. 8. Michael Drayton buried.
		1632	Countess of Buckingham buried, April 21.
		1633	Monument to Geo. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, completed.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

XXXV

A. D.		A. D.	
1636	Sir Thomas Richardson buried. Wife of Casaubon buried. Thomas Parr buried.	1648	Francis Villiers, youngest Son of Duke of Buckingham, buried, July 10.
1637	Lilly's Search for Treasure in the Cloisters. Imprisonment of Williams. Ben Jonson buried.	1649	Assembly of Divines closed, Feb. 22. Isaac Dorislaus buried, June 14.
1638	Marchioness of Hamilton buried. Sir Robert Ayton buried, Feb. 28.		Thomas Cary buried.
1639	Jane Crewe, Heiress of the Pulteneys, buried. Archbishop Spottiswoode bur- ied, Nov. 29. Duchess of Richmond buried.	1650	Thomas May buried. George Wild buried, June 21.
1640	Williams released. Convocation, April 17-May 29, in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Conference in Jerusalem Cham- ber. Attack on the Abbey.	1351	Ireton buried, Feb. 6. Col. Popham buried, Aug. Thomas Haselrig buried, Oct. 30. Humphrey Salwey buried, Dec. 20.
1641	Sir Henry Spelman buried, Oct. 24. Williams raised to the See of York. Meeting of Bishops in the Jeru- salem Chamber. Williams's second imprison- ment.	1653	Col. Deane buried, June 24.
1642	Regalia taken from the Abbey and broken in pieces. Williams's second release. Lord Hervey buried.	1654	Strong buried, July 4. Col. Mackworth buried, Dec. 26. Elizabeth Cromwell buried.
1643	Assembly of Divines opened, July 6. Pym buried, Dec. 18.	1655	Sir William Constable buried, June 21. Marshall buried, Nov. 23.
1644	<i>R. Stewart, Dean.</i> Theodore Paleologus buried, May 8. Col. Meldrum buried.	1656	Archbishop Ussher buried, April 17. Jane Diabrowe buried.
1645	Col. Boscawen and Col. Carter buried. Cranfield, Lord Middlesex, buried. Grace Scot buried. Commissioners appointed by Parliament, Nov. 18.	1657	Cromwell installed on the Stone of Scone in Westmin- ster Hall, June 26. Blake buried.
1646	Twiss buried, July 24. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, buried, Oct. 22.	1658	Denis Bond buried. Elizabeth Claypole buried, Aug. 10. Burial of Cromwell, Sept. 26.
		1659	Bradshaw buried.
		1660	<i>Earles, Dean.</i> Henry, Duke of Gloucester, buried, Sept. 13. Thomas Blagg buried. Confirmation of Election of Sheldon, Bishop of London; Saunderson, of Lincoln; Morley, of Worcester; Henchman, of Salisbury; and Griffith, of St. Asaph, Oct. 28. Consecration of Lucy, Bishop of St. David's; Lloyd, of Llandaff; Gauden, of Exe- ter; Sterne, of Carlisle;

A. D.	A. D.
	1665 Earl of Marlborough buried. Lords Muskerry and Falmouth buried.
	Sir E. Broughton buried.
1660 Mary of Orange buried, Dec. 29.	1666 T. Chiffinch buried, April 10. Sir Robert Stapleton buried, July 15.
1661 Consecration of Ironside, Bishop of Bristol; Reynolds, of Norwich; Monk, of Hereford; Nicholson, of Gloucester, Jan. 6.	Berkeley buried.
Disinterment of Regicides, Jan. 29.	1667 William Johnson buried, March 12. Abraham Cowley buried, Aug. 8.
Coronation of Charles II., April 23.	1668 William Davenant buried, April 9. John Thorndyke.
Convocation in Henry VII.'s Chapel, May 16-Oct. 20.	1669 John Denham buried.
Thomas Smith buried.	1670 Monk's Wife, Duchess of Albemarle, buried, Feb. 28.
Mother of Clarendon buried.	Monk, Duke of Albemarle, buried, April 29.
Disinterment of Magnates of the Commonwealth, Sept. 12.	Marriage of Sir S. Morland with Carola Harnett.
Consecration of Fairfoul, Bishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, of Galloway; Leighton, of Dunblane; Sharpe, of St. Andrews, Dec. 15.	Triplett buried.
Bishop Nicholas Monk buried, Dec. 20.	1671 Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, buried, April 5.
Heart of Esme Lennox buried.	1672 Harbord and Cotterill died. Consecration of Carleton, Bishop of Bristol, Feb. 11.
1662 Elizabeth of Bohemia buried, Feb. 17.	Montague, Earl of Sandwich, buried, July 8.
Upper House of Convocation in Jerusalem Chamber, Feb. 22.	Herbert Thorndyke buried, July 13.
Ferne, Bishop of Chester, buried, March 25.	1673 Sir R. Moray buried, July 6. Hamilton, Le Neve, Spragge, died.
Duppa, Bishop of Winchester, buried, April 24.	1674 Earl of Doncaster buried, Feb. 10. Carola Morland buried.
Henry Lawes buried, Oct. 25.	Margaret Lucas, Duchess of Newcastle, buried, Jan. 7.
Consecration of Earles, Bishop of Worcester, Nov. 30.	1675 Earl of Clarendon buried, Jan. 4.
1663 John Dolben, Dean.	1676 Sanderson buried, July 18.
Paul Thorndyke and Duall Pead christened, April 18.	Christopher Gibbons buried, Oct. 24.
Robert South, Prebendary and Archdeacon.	1677 William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, buried, Jan. 22.
Consecration of Barrow, Bishop of Sodor and Man, July 5.	Isaac Barrow buried, May 7.
1664 Consecration of Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, July 10.	1678 Transference of the York Princes from the Tower.
1665 School removed to Chiswick on account of the plague.	Sir E. Berry Godfrey died.

A. D.	A. D.
1679 Diana Temple buried, March 27.	1695 Purcell buried, Nov. 26. Sir Thomas Duppa died. Knipe, Head-Master.
1680 Anne Morland buried, Feb. 24. Sir Palmes Fairborne died. Earl of Plymouth buried. Earl of Ossory buried, July 30.	1697 Horneck buried, Feb. 4. Grace Gethin buried.
1682 Thomas Thynne buried. Prince Rupert buried, Dec. 26.	1699 Sir William Temple buried.
1683 Sprat, <i>Dean</i> .	1700 John Dryden buried, May 13. William, Duke of Gloucester, buried, Aug. 9.
1684 Lord Roscommon buried, Jan. 24. Duchess of Ormonde buried, July 24.	1701 Sir Joseph Williamson buried, Oct. 14.
1685 Burial of Charles II., Feb. 14. Coronation of James II., April 23. Confessor's Coffin opened.	1702 Burial of William III., April 12. Coronation of Anne, April 23. Convocation, Feb. 12-June 6. Duchess of Richmond buried, Oct. 22.
1687 George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, buried, June 7.	1703 St. Evremond buried, Sept. 11. Mourning of the Duchess of Marlborough for her son.
1688 Nicholas Bagnall buried, March 9. Reading of the Declaration of Indulgence by Sprat, May 20. James Butler, Duke of Or- monde, buried, Aug. 4. Jane Lister buried, Oct. 7. Sermon by South, Nov. 5.	1704 Major Creed died. Tom Brown buried in East Cloister.
1689 Coronation of William and Mary, April 11. First Chair for the Queen's Consort. Aphara Behn buried in East Cloister, April 20. Commission for the Revision of the Liturgy in Jerusalem Chamber, Oct. 8-Nov. 18. Convocation, Nov. 20-Dec. 14.	1706 Colonel Bingfield died.
1692 Shadwell died. Sarah, Duchess of Somerset, buried.	1707 Admiral Delaval buried, Jan. 23. General Killigrew died. George Stepney buried, Sept. 22. Sir Cloudesley Shovel buried, Dec. 22.
1694 Lady Temple buried. Fire in the Cloisters and burn- ing of MSS. in Williams's Library.	1708 Consecration of Dawes, Bishop of Chester, Feb. 8. Josiah Twysden buried. Methuen buried. Blow buried, Oct. 8. Prince George of Denmark buried, Nov. 13.
1695 Burial of Mary, March 5. Wharton buried, March 11. Busby buried, April 5. George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, buried, April 11.	1709 Heneage Twysden died. Bentinck, Duke of Portland, buried.
	1710 Betterton buried, May 2. Admiral Churchill buried, May 12. Spanheim buried. Mary Kendall buried. John Phillips died.
	1711 Grabe died. Carteret buried. Knipe buried. Freind, Head-Master.

A. D.		A. D.	
1711	John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, buried, Aug. 9.	1723	Exile of Atterbury, June 18. <i>Samuel Bradford</i> , Dean.
1712	Lord Godolphin buried, Oct. 8.		Monument to Bishop Nicholas Monk.
1713	Lady A. C. Bagnall buried, March 13. Dean Sprat buried. <i>Atterbury</i> , Dean. Tompion buried.		Sir Godfrey Kneller died.
1714	Burial of Queen Anne, Aug. 24. Coronation of George I., Oct. 20.	1725	Establishment of the Order of the Bath.
1715	Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, buried, May 26. Great Bell of Westminster purchased for St. Paul's.	1727	Sir Isaac Newton buried, March 28. Croft buried, Aug. 23. Coronation of George II. and Queen Caroline, Oct. 11.
1716	Baker died. South buried, July 16.	1728	Chamberlen died. Freind died. Woodward buried, May.
1717	John Twysden died. Convocation prorogued.	1729	Congreve buried, Jan. 26. Withers buried.
1718	Sir J. Chardin died. Nicholas Rowe buried, Dec. 14. Mrs. Steele buried, Dec. 30.	1730	Occupation of the Dormitory. Anne Oldfield buried, Oct. 27. Duke of Cleveland and Southampton buried, Nov. 3.
1719	Joseph Addison buried, June 26. Duke of Schomberg, Aug. 4. Almeric de Courcy buried.	1731	Disney buried. Dean Bradford buried. Lady Elizabeth Nightingale buried. <i>Joseph Wilcocks</i> , Dean.
1720	Lady Hardy buried, May 3. Monument to Monk erected. William Longueville buried. James, first Earl of Stanhope, died. De Castro buried.		Fire in the Cloisters, Documents removed to Chapter House.
1721	James Craggs buried, March 2. Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, buried, March 26. Thomas Sprat, Archdeacon of Rochester, buried. Matthew Prior, Sept. 21.	1732	Atterbury buried, May 12. Sir Thomas Hardy buried, Aug. 24. Monument to Samuel Butler erected. John Gay buried, Dec. 23. Nicolls, Head-Master.
1722	First Stone of New Dormitory laid. Duke of Marlborough buried, Aug. 9. Arrest of Atterbury, Aug. 22.	1733	Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, buried. Wetenall died.
1723	Monument to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle. Lord Cornbury buried. Charles Lennox, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth, buried, June 7.	1736	Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, buried, Jan. 31.
		1737	Conduitt buried, May 29. Monument to Milton erected. Burial of Queen Caroline of Anspach, Dec. 27.
		1738	Building of Westminster Bridge.
		1739	Western Towers finished.
		1740	Transference of the Remains of Duras, Earl of Feversham,

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.		A. D.	
	Armand de Bourbon, and Charlotte de Bourbon, to the Abbey, March 21.	1758	W. Nightingale buried. Monument to Lady E. Nightingale erected.
1740	Ephraim Chambers buried, May 21.		Removal of Old Dormitory and Brewhouse.
	Lord Aubrey Beaucherk died. Monument erected to Shakespeare.	1759	General Wolfe died. Handel buried, April 20.
1742	Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, buried.	1760	Celebration of the Bicentenary of Westminster School, June 2.
1743	Captain Cornwall died. Wager died.		Burial of George II., Nov. 11.
	Catherine, Duchess of Buckinghamshire, buried, April 8.	1761	Coronation of George III. and Queen Charlotte, Sept. 22.
	John Campbell, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, Oct. 15.		Hales died.
1744	Balchen died.		Holmes died.
1746	William Horneck buried, April 27.	1762	Monument erected to Thomson.
	Cowper entered Westminster School.	1764	Pulteney, Earl of Bath, buried, July 17.
	General Guest buried, Oct. 16.	1765	William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, buried, Nov. 10.
1747	Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey admitted into Westminster College.	1766	Susanna Maria Cibber buried. Admiral Tyrrell died.
	Saumarez died.	1767	Widow of the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich buried, April 3.
1748	Marshal Wade buried, March 21.		Duke of York buried, Nov. 3.
	Isaac Watts died.	1768	Dean Pearce retires. Bonnell Thornton buried.
	Anne Bracegirdle buried, Sept. 8.		Hannah Prichard died.
1750	Removal of the Sanctuary.	1770	Lord Ligonier buried.
1751	General Hargrave buried, Feb. 2.	1771	George Montague, Earl of Halifax, buried.
	General Fleming buried, March 30.		Opening of the Tomb of Edward I.
	Graham buried, Nov. 23.		Gray died.
	Vernon died.	1772	Bust of Booth erected. Steigerr buried, Dec. 28.
1752	Warren died.	1774	Goldsmith died.
1753	The Green in Dean's Yard laid out.	1775	General Lawrence died.
	Markham, Head-Master.	1776	Courayer buried.
1754	Monument to Lady Walpole erected.		Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland, Dec. 8.
1756	Vertue buried.		Roberts, Secretary to Pelham, died.
	Dean Wilcocks buried.	1777	Barry buried, Jan. 20.
	Zachary Pearce, Dean.		Wragg died.
1757	Colonel Townsend died.		Gatehouse taken down.
	Temple West died.		Foote buried, Nov. 3.
	Admiral Watson died.	1778	William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, buried, June 9.
1758	Viscount Howe died.		

A. D.		A. D.	
1778	Restoration of Spenser's Monument. Erection of Wolfe's Monument.	1799	Captain Cook died.
1779	Garrick buried, Feb. 1.	1800	Warren, Bishop of Bangor, buried.
1780	Restoration of Camden's Monument.		M. E. Bowes, Countess of Strathmore, buried, May 10.
1781	Lady Charlotte Percy, last torchlight Funeral not royal.		Lady Tyrconnell buried.
1782	Captains Bayn and Blair, and Lord R. Manners, died. (Monument.) William Dalrymple died. Pringle died.	1801	Totty died.
	Admiral Kempenfelt died.	1801	Sir George Staunton buried, Jan. 28.
1783	Sir Eyre Coote died. Admiral Storr died. Lady Delaval buried.	1802	Arnold buried, Oct. 29. <i>William Vincent, Dean.</i> See of Rochester parted from the Deanery.
1784	Handel Festival, May 26-June 5.	1805	Dr. Buchan buried.
	Johnson buried, Dec. 20.		Banks died.
1785	John Henderson buried, Dec. 9.		Christopher Anstey died.
1786	Jonas Hanway died. Taylor died.	1806	William Pitt buried, Feb. 22.
1789	Broughton buried. Gideon Loten died. Sir John Hawkins buried, Jan. 28.		Charles Fox buried, Oct. 10.
1790	Monument to Martin Ffolkes erected. Duke of Cumberland buried, Sept. 28.	1807	Admiral Delaval buried, Jan. 27.
1791	Oak taken down in Dean's Yard. Admiral Harrison buried, Oct. 26.		Antony, Duke of Montpensier, buried, May 26.
1792	Sir John Burgoyne buried, Aug. 13.		Markham, Archbishop, buried, Nov. 11.
1793	Lord Mansfield buried, March 28. Cooke buried, Sept. 1. <i>Samuel Horsley, Dean.</i>	1808	Bust of Paoli erected.
1794	Winteringham died. Captains Harvey, Hutt, and Montagu, died June 1.	1808	Lord Delaval buried. Monument to Addison erected.
1795	Alexander Duroure buried.	1809	Agar, Lord Normanton, buried.
1796	Macpherson buried, March 15.	1810	Louise de Savoie buried, Nov. 26.
1797	Chambers buried, March 18.	1811	Louise de Savoie removed to Sardinia, March 5.
1797	Mason died.		Richard Cumberland buried, May 14.
1799	Lady Kerry buried.		Lady Mary Coke, daughter of the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, buried.
			Captain Stewart died.
		1812	Perceval died.
			Last Installation of Knights of the Bath in the Abbey.
		1813	Granville Sharpe died.
			Wyatt buried, Sept. 28.
		1814	E. H. Delaval buried.
			Burney died.
		1815	Dean Vincent buried, Dec. 29.
		1816	Lord Kerry buried.
			<i>John Ireland, Dean.</i>
			Lord Minto buried, Jan. 29.
			Sheridan buried, July 13.
		1817	Horner died.

A. D.		A. D.	
1819	James Watt died. Bust of Warren Hastings erected.	1849	Sir R. Wilson buried, May 15.
1820	Grattan buried, June 16.	1850	Consecration of Fulford, Bishop of Montreal.
1821	Coronation of George IV., July 19.		Wordsworth died.
	Major André buried, Nov. 28.		Peel died.
1822	Lord Castlereagh buried, Aug. 20.	1852	Transference of the Remains of Lyndwood to the Abbey, March 6.
	Eva Maria Garrick buried, Oct. 25.		Convocation revived, Nov. 12.
1822	John Philip Kemble died.	1852	Bishop Monk buried, June 14.
	Bailie died.		<i>R. C. Trench, Dean.</i>
1824	Restoration of Altar Screen by Bernascon.	1858	Consecration of G. L. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta.
1826	Sir Stamford Raffles died.	1859	Transference of the Remains of John Hunter to the Abbey, March 28.
1827	Giffard buried, Jan. 8.		Consecration of Bishops of Columbia, Brisbane, and St. Helena, and of the Bishop of Bangor.
	George Canning buried, Aug. 18.		Stephenson buried, Oct. 21.
1829	Davy died.	1860	Lord Macaulay buried, Jan. 9.
	Young died.		Sir Charles Barry buried, May 22.
	Fire in the Triforium.		Lord Dundonald buried, Nov. 14.
1830	Tierney died.		Celebration of Tercentenary of Westminster School, Nov. 17.
	Rennell buried, April 6.	1862	Elizabeth Woodfall buried.
1831	Coronation of William IV. and Queen Adelaide, Sept. 8.		Earl Canning buried, June 21.
	Mrs. Siddons died.	1863	Sir James Outram buried, March 25.
1832	Andrew Bell buried.		Lord Clyde buried, Aug. 22.
	Mackintosh died.		Sir G. Cornwall Lewis died.
1833	Sir John Malcolm died.		Thackeray died.
	Wilberforce buried, Aug. 3.		Consecration of First Missionary Bishop to Central Africa, Orange River State.
1834	Telford buried, Sept. 10.	1864	<i>Arthur P. Stanley, Dean.</i>
1838	Zachary Macaulay died.		Consecration of the Bishop of Ely.
	Coronation of Queen Victoria, June 28.		Acts of Parliament removed from the Parliament Office to the Victoria Tower.
1840	Lord Holland died.	1865	Lord Palmerston buried, Oct. 27.
1842	Dean Ireland buried, Sept. 8.		Celebration of 800th anniversary of the Foundation of the Abbey, Dec. 28.
	<i>Thomas Turton, Dean.</i> Consecration of five Colonial Bishops, May 24.		
1843	Southey died.		
1844	Campbell buried, July 3.		
	Henry Cary buried, Aug. 21.		
1845	Sir Fowell Buxton died.		
	<i>Samuel Wilberforce, Dean.</i>		
	Sir William Follett died.		
	<i>William Buckland, Dean.</i>		
1847	Consecration of three Australian Bishops, and of R. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town.		
1848	Charles Buller died.		

A. D.		A. D.	
1866	Restoration of Chapter House undertaken.	1873	Funeral Service for Bishop Macilwaine.
1867	Monument to Cobden.		Visit of the Shah.
	Restoration of Altar Screen in Marble.	1874	David Livingstone buried.
	Royal Commission on Ritual in Jerusalem Chamber.		Visit of the Emperor of Russia.
1868	Consecration of the Bishop of Hereford.	1875	Burials of Sir Sterndale Bennett, Sir Charles Lyell, and Bishop Thirlwall.
1869	Discovery of Grave of James I.	1876	Burial of Lady Augusta Stanley.
	Consecration of the Bishops of Lincoln, Grafton and Armidale, and Mauritius, Feb. 24.	1877	Caxton Celebration, June 2.
	Consecration of the Bishops of Auckland, Bathurst, and Labuan, June 29.		Consecration of Dr. Thorold as Bishop of Rochester, July 25.
1869	Consecration of the Bishop of Montreal, Aug. 1.		Consecration of Bishops of Rangoon and Lahore; and Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, Dec. 21.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Salisbury, Oct. 28.	1878	Funeral of Sir Gilbert Scott, April 6.
	Funeral of George Peabody, Nov. 12.	1879	Consecration of Dr. Lightfoot as Bishop of Durham, by Archbishop of York, April 25.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Exeter, Dec. 21.		Funeral of Lord Lawrence, July 5.
	Consecration of the Bishop of Oxford.		Funeral of Sir Rowland Hill, Sept. 4.
	Charles Dickens buried.	1881	Jubilee Service for King's College, London, June 21.
1870	Entertainment of Archbishop of Syria, Jan. 25.		Funeral of Lord Hatherley, July 15.
1871	Sir John Herschel buried.		Death (July 18) and Funeral of Dean Stanley, July 25.
	George Grote buried.		<i>G. Granville Bradley</i> , Dean, installed Nov. 1.
	Revision of Authorised Version —		Funeral of G. E. Street, Dec. 25.
	Communion in Henry VII.'s Chapel.		
1872	Sir George Pollock buried.		
1873	Lord Lytton buried.		

GENERAL DIMENSIONS OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

<i>Interior.</i>	Feet In.	<i>Exterior.</i>	Feet In.
Length of the <i>Nave</i> . . .	166 0	Extreme length of the Abbey	423 6
Breadth of ditto . . .	38 7	Ditto, including Henry VII.'s	
Height of ditto . . .	101 8	Chapel	530 0
Breadth of the Aisles . .	16 7	Height of the western towers	
Extreme breadth of the		to the top of the pinnacles	225 4
Nave and Aisles . . .	71 9	Height of Nave and Transept	
Length of the <i>Choir</i> . . .	155 9	roofs	138 3
Extreme breadth of ditto .	38 4	Height of lantern	151 0
Height of ditto	101 2	Height of north front, includ-	
Extreme length from north		ing pinnacle	166 0
to south of the <i>Transepts</i>			
and Choir	203 2	Henry VII.'s Chapel: —	
Length of each Transept .	82 5	Interior, length . . .	104 6
Entire breadth of ditto,		Exterior " . . .	106 6
including Aisles . . .	84 8	Interior, breadth . .	69 10
Extreme length from the		Exterior " . . .	82 0
west door to the piers of		Interior, height . . .	61 5
Henry VII.'s Chapel . .	403 0	Exterior " . . .	82 0
Ditto, including Henry			
VII.'s Chapel	511 6		

Dimensions of the Isle of Thorns, 470 yards long, 370 yards broad.

THE
FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE devout King destined to God that place, both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London, and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it, with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world great variety of wares and merchandise of all sorts to the city adjoining: but chiefly for the love of the Chief Apostle, whom he revered with a special and singular affection (*Contemporary Life of Edward the Confessor, in Harleian MSS.*, pp. 980-985).

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

THE special authorities for the physical peculiarities of Westminster are :—

1. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*. London. 1807.
2. Saunders's *Situation and Extent of Westminster*, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 223–241.
3. Dean Buckland's Sermon (1847) on the reopening of Westminster Abbey, with a Geological Appendix.
4. *History of St. Margaret's, Westminster*, by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott.

For Edward the Confessor :—

1. *Life* by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, A. D. 1163, derived chiefly from an earlier *Life* by Osbert, or Osbern of Clare, Prior of Westminster, A. D. 1158.
2. The Four Lives published by Mr. Luard, in the Collection of the Master of the Rolls :—
 - (a) *Cambridge MS.* French poem, dedicated to Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., probably about A. D. 1245.
 - (b) *Oxford MS.* Latin poem, dedicated to Henry VI., probably between A. D. 1440–1450.
 - (c) *Vatican and Caius Coll. MSS.*, probably in the thirteenth century. All these are founded on Ailred.
 - (d) *Harleian MS.*, A. D. 1066–1074 (almost contemporary).
 - (e) The charters of the Saxon Kings. (For the suspicions attaching to them, see *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, pp. 139–140.)

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

IT is said that the line in Heber's 'Palestine' which describes the rise of Solomon's temple originally ran —

Like the green grass, the noiseless fabric grew ;
and that, at Sir Walter Scott's suggestion, it was altered to its present form —

Like some tall palm, the noiseless fabric sprung.

Whether we adopt the humbler or the grander image, the comparison of the growth of a fine building to that of a natural product is full of instruction. But the growth of an historical edifice like Westminster Abbey needs a more complex figure to do justice to its formation : a venerable oak, with gnarled and hollow trunk, and spreading roots, and decaying bark, and twisted branches, and green shoots ; or a coral reef extending itself with constantly new accretions, creek after creek, and islet after islet. One after another, a fresh nucleus of life is formed, a new combination produced, a larger ramification thrown out. In this respect Westminster Abbey stands alone amongst the buildings of the world. There are, it may be, some which surpass it in beauty or grandeur ; there are others, certainly, which surpass it in depth and sublimity of association ; but there is none which has been entwined by so many continuous threads with the history of a whole nation.

I. The first origin of Westminster is to be sought in the natural features of its position, which include the origin of London no less. Foremost of these is what to Londoners and Englishmen is, in a deeper and truer sense than was intended by Gray when he used the phrase, our '*Father Thames*:' the river Thames, the largest river in England, here widening to an almost majestic size, yet not too wide for thoroughfare — the direct communication between London and the sea on the one hand, between London and the interior on the other. When roads were bad, when robbers were many, when the forests were still thick, then, far more than now, the Thames was the chief highway of English life, the chief inlet and outlet of English commerce. Here, from the earliest times, the coracles of the British tribes, the galleys of the Roman armies, were moored, and gave to the place the most probable origin of its name — the 'City of Ships.'

The Thames is the parent of London. The chief river of England has, by a natural consequence, secured for its chief city that supremacy over all the other towns which have at various times claimed to be the seats of sovereignty in England — York, Canterbury, and Winchester. The old historic stream, which gathered on the banks of its upper course Oxford, Eton, Windsor, and Richmond, had already, before the first beginning of those ancient seats of learning and of regal luxury, become, on these its lower banks, the home¹ of England's commerce and of England's power.

Above the river rose a long range of hills, covered with a vast forest, full of wild deer, wild bulls, and

¹ Londinium . . . copia negotiatorum et comœtuum maxime celebre. (Tac. Ann. xiv. 33.)

wild boars,¹ of which the highest points were Hampstead and Highgate. A desolate moor or fen, marked still by the names of *Finsbury*, *Fenchurch*, and *Moorfields*, which in winter was covered with ^{The hills and streams.} water and often frozen, occupied the plateau immediately north of the city. As the slope of the hills descended steeply on the *strand* of the river, slight eminences, of stiff clay, broke the ground still more perceptibly. Tower Hill, Corn Hill, and Ludgate Hill remind us that the old London, like all capitals, took advantage of whatever strength was afforded by natural situation: and therefore as we go up to Cornhill, the traditional seat of British chiefs and Roman governors, as we feel the ground swelling under our feet when we begin the ascent from Fleet Street to St. Paul's, or as we see the eminence on which stands the Tower of London, the oldest fortress of our Norman kings, we have before us the reasons which have fixed what is properly called the 'city' of London on its present site.

And yet again, whilst the first dwellers of the land were thus entrenched on their heights by the riverside, they were at once protected and refreshed by the clear swift rivulets descending from the higher hills through the winding valleys that intersected the earthen bulwarks on which the old fastnesses stood. These streams still survive in the depths of the sewers into which they are absorbed, and in the streets to which they give their names. On the eastern² side the Long stream (*Langborne*) of 'sweet water' flowed from the fens (of Fenchurch), and then broke into the 'shares or small rills' of *Shareborne* and *Southborne*, by which it reached

¹ Fitzstephen. Vita S. Thomæ. Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Londoniæ.

² Arch. xxxiii. 110.

the Thames. By St. Stephen's *Walbrook*, probably forming the western boundary of the Roman fortress of London,¹ there flows the Brook of London Wall — the Wall Brook, which, when swelled by winter floods, rushed with such violence down its gully that, even in the time of Stow, a young man was swept away by it.² Holborn Hill takes its name from the *Old Bourne*,³ or Holebourne, which, rising in High Holborn, ran down that steep declivity, and turned the mills at Turnmill (or Turnbull) Street, at the bottom: the River of Wells, as it was sometimes called, from those once consecrated springs which now lie choked and buried in Clerken Well, and Holy Well, and St. Clement's Well — the scene in the Middle Ages of many a sacred and festive pageant which gathered round their green margins. Fleet Ditch and Fleet Street mark the shallow bed of the 'Fleet'⁴ as it creeps down from the breezy slopes of Hampstead. The rivulet of Ulebrig crossed the Strand under the 'Ivy Bridge,'⁵ on its way to the Thames.

Such are the main natural features of London. In recalling them from the graves in which they are now

¹ *Arch.* xxxiii. 104.

² *Ibid.* xxxiii. 104. Stow's *Survey*. Account of Downe Gate.

³ If 'Old Bourne,' as it appears in Stow (see also Hayward's *Edward VI.*, pp. 96, 97), the aspirate has been added as a London vulgarism. If 'Holebourne,' as it appears in earlier documents, it is probably derived from flowing in a hollow. See Letter in the *Times*, Aug. 17, 1868.

⁴ In a petition to the Parliament at Carlisle, in 35 Edward I. (*Rot. Parl.* i. p. 200, No. 59), the Earl of Lincoln stated that in old times ten or twelve ships used often to come up to Fleet Bridge with merchandise, and some even to Holborn Bridge, to scour the water-course. It has been suggested to me that the word 'Fleet,' as a local designation, does not mean 'swift,' but 'shallow,' or 'flat.' In East Anglia it is always so used by the common people, as a 'fleet plate,' and so of meadows and fords in the fen country, where a rapid stream is unknown.

⁵ *Arch.* xxvi. 227.

entombed, there is something affecting in the thought that, after all, we are not so far removed from our mother earth as we might have supposed. There is a quaint humour in the fact that the great arteries of our crowded streets, the vast sewers which cleanse our habitations, are fed by the lifeblood of those old and living streams; that underneath our tread the Tyburn, and the Holborn, and the Fleet, and the Wall Brook, are still pursuing their ceaseless course, still ministering to the good of man, though in a far different fashion than when Druids drank of their sacred springs, and Saxons were baptized in their rushing waters, ages ago.

Thus much has been necessary to state respecting the origin of London, because without a general view of so near and great a neighbour it is impossible to understand the position of our own home of Westminster.

Here too the mighty river plays an important part, but with an auxiliary which was wanting in the eastern sweep which has cradled the hills of London. The Island of Thorne. Those steep stiff banks of London clay forbade any intrusion of the Thames beyond his natural shores; but both above and below that point the level ground enabled the river to divide his stream, and embrace within his course numerous islands and islets. Below, we still find the Isle of Dogs and the Isle of Sheep. Above, in like manner, the waters spread irregularly over a long low flat, and enclosed a mass of gravel deposit forming a small island or peninsula. The influx and reflux of the tide, which lower down was said even to have undermined the river walls of the fortress of London,¹ rushed, it was believed, through what once

¹ Fitzstephen (as above). See *Arch.* xxxiii. 116. In the memory of man the vaults of the Treasury buildings were flooded.

was Flood Street; and some of our chroniclers fix the scene of Canute's rebuke to his courtiers 'on the banks of the Thames as it ran by the Palace of Westminster at flowing tide, and the waves cast forth some part of their water towards him, and came up to his thighs.'¹ On the north-east a stream came up by the street thence called Channel (afterwards corrupted into Canon²) Row, through Gardiner's Lane, which was crossed by a bridge as late as the seventeenth century.³ On the north this channel spread out into a low marshy creek, now the lake in St. James's Park; and the steepness of the sides of the islet is indicated by the stairs descending into the Park from Duke Street Chapel. At the point where Great George Street enters Birdcage Walk by Storey's Gate, there was a narrow isthmus which

¹ Fabian, p. 229. Knyghton, c. 2325.

² From its being the residence of the canons of St. Stephen's Chapel.

³ The statement of Maitland (*History of London*, p. 730) and Dart (ii. 28), that the first bridge over this stream was built by Matilda, the good queen of Henry I., is probably a mistake founded on the statement of Weever, who says (p. 454) that Matilda 'buiilded the bridges over the River of Lea at Stratford Bow, and over the little brooke called Chanelesebridge.' The situation of the second bridge not being definitely given in this passage, Maitland may have assumed, as Dart actually does assume, that it was identical with the bridge near Channel Row, Westminster. On referring to Stow, however (*Annals*, A. D. 1118), we find that the Queen built two stone bridges—one over the Lea at Stratford, and one not far from it, over a little brook called 'Chanelesebridge.' And it is evident from other facts which he mentions, that Stow had seen the record of proceedings in the King's Bench in 6 Edward II., in which is recited an inquisition of 32 Edward I., assigning the foundation of these two bridges, the Stratford bridge and the 'Chanelesbrigg,' near it, to Queen Matilda. Stow evidently knew nothing about the founder of the bridge near Channel Row, Westminster; for in his *Survey* he merely mentions it as before quoted. And in his notice of Matilda's place of sepulture he makes no allusion to it. I owe this correction to Mr. F. S. Haydon. Mr. Walcott has since discovered that the bridge over the Westminster stream was called the Abbot's Bridge at Tothill.

connected the island with a similar bed of gravel, reaching under Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park.¹ Then through Prince's Street (formerly, from this stream, called Long Ditch),² another channel began, and continued through Dean Street and College Street, till it fell again into the Thames by Millbank Street, where, in later days, the Abbot's Mill stood on the banks of the stream. The watery waste, which on the south spread over Lambeth and Southwark, on the north was fed by one of those streams which have been already noticed. There descended from Hampstead in a torrent, which has scattered its name right and left along its course, the brook of the Aye or Eye,³ so called probably from the Eye (or Island) of which it formed the eastern boundary, and afterwards familiarly corrupted into the *Aye Bourn*, *T'Aye Bourn*, *Tybourne*.⁴ It is recognized first by the Chapel of St. Mary on its banks, *Mary-le-bourne* (now corrupted into Marylebone)—then by 'Brook' Street. Next, winding under the curve of 'Aye Hill,'⁵ it ran out through the Green Park; and whilst a thin stream found its way through what is now called the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer into the Thames, its waters also spread through the morass (which was

¹ See Appendix to Dean Buckland's Sermon on Westminster Abbey.

² The word 'ditch' is used for a brook, as in Kenditch, near Hampstead. The ditch was remembered in 1799. (*Gent. Mag.* lxi. part ii. p. 577.)

³ For the whole plan of the manor or plain of *Eye* or *Eia*, containing the course of the brook, see *Arch.* xxvi. 224, 226, 234.

⁴ Stratford Place marks the site of the banqueting house attached to the conduits of Tybourne. (*Arch.* xxvi. 226.) The *T'aye* is probably from the Saxon 'æt,' 'at' (as in Attwater, Attwood, Atbourne), meaning 'the road near the bourne from the island.'

⁵ In the case of *Hay Hill*, the London vulgarism has permanently prefixed the aspirate. The original 'Aye Hill' appears in a charter of Henry VI., in the archives of Eaton College.

afterwards called from it the manor of *Eyebury*, or *Ebury*) into the vast Bulinga Fen.¹

The island (or peninsula) thus enclosed, in common with more than one similar spot, derived its name from its thickets of thorn — Thorn Ey,² the Isle of Thorns — which formed in their jungle a refuge for the wild ox³ or huge red deer with towering antlers, that strayed into it from the neighbouring hills. This spot, thus entrenched, marsh within marsh, and forest within forest, was indeed *locus terribilis*,⁴ ‘the terrible place,’ as it was called in the first notices of its existence; yet even thus early it presented several points of attraction to the founder of whatever was the original building which was to redeem it from the wilderness. It had the advantages of a Thebaid, as contrasted with the stir and tumult of the neighbouring fortress of London. And, on the other hand, the river, then swarming with fish,⁵ was close by to feed the colony; the gravel soil and the close fine sand, still dug up under the floor of the Abbey and in St. Margaret’s Churchyard, was neces-

¹ Tothill Fields (Vincent Square). (*Arch.* xxvi. 224.)

² Or Dorney. (Burton’s *London and Westminster*, p. 285.) There was a Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire and in Somersetshire. The description of one of these in *Ordericus Vitalis* (book xi.) exactly describes what Westminster Abbey must have been. ‘It is called in English the Isle of Thorns, because its woods, thick with all manner of trees, are surrounded by vast pools of water.’

³ The bones of such an ox (*Bos primicerius*) were discovered under the foundations of the Victoria Tower, and red deer, with very fine antlers, below the River Terrace. I derive this from Professor Owen. Bones and antlers of the elk and red deer were also found in 1868 in Broad Sanctuary in making the Metropolitan Railway.

⁴ ‘In loco terribili’ is the phrase used by Offa in the first authentic charter, and repeated in Edgar’s (Widmore’s *Inquiry*, pp. 14, 15; Kemble, *Codex Anglo-Saxonicus*, § 149).

⁵ *Fluvius maximus, piscosus*. (Fitzstephen. *Vita Sancti Thomæ*. Desc. civ. Lond.)

sarily healthy ; and in the centre of the thickets there bubbled up at least one spring, perhaps two, which gave them water clear and pure, supplied by the percolation of the rain-water from the gravel beds of Hyde Park and the Palace Gardens through the isthmus, when the river was too turbid to drink.¹ It has been said, with a happy paradox, that no local traditions are so durable as those which are 'writ in water.'² So it is here. In the green of Dean's Yard there stands a well-worn pump. The spring,³ which, till quite recently, supplied it, was the vivifying centre of all that has grown up around.

II. These were the original elements of the greatness of Westminster, and such was the Isle of Thorns. On like islands arose the cathedral and town of Ely, the Abbey of Croyland, the Abbey of Glastonbury, and the Castle-Cathedral of Limerick. On such another grew up a still more exact parallel — Notre Dame at Paris, with the palace of the kings close by. What was the first settlement in those thorny shades, amidst those watery wastes, beside that bubbling spring, it is impossible to decipher. The monastic traditions maintained that the earliest building had been a Temple of Apollo, shaken down by an earthquake in the year A. D. 154, not, however, before it had received the remains of Bladud the magician, who lighted here in his preternatural flight from Bath, and was thus the first interment in the venerable soil. But this is probably no more than the attempt to outshine the rival cathedral of St. Paul's, by endeavouring to counterbalance the dubious

¹ See Appendix to Dean Buckland's Sermon.

² Clark's *Peloponnesus*, p. 286.

³ There is also another in St. Margaret's Churchyard.

claims of the Temple of Diana¹ by a still more dubious assertion of the claims of the temple of her brother the Sun God.² Next comes King Lucius, the legendary founder of the originals of St. Peter's, Church of Lucius. Cornhill, Gloucester, Canterbury, Dover, Bangor, Glastonbury, Cambridge, Winchester. He it was who was said to have converted the two London temples into churches;³ or, according to one version, to have restored two yet more ancient churches which the temples had superseded.⁴ He it was who, in the Swiss legends, deserted his British throne to become the bishop of Coire in the Grisons, where in the cathedral are shown his relics, with those of his sister Emerita; and high in the woods above the town emerges a rocky pulpit, still bearing the marks of his fingers, from which he preached to the inhabitants of the valleys, in a voice so clear and loud, that it could be heard on the Luciensteig (the Pass of Lucius), twelve miles off. The only authentic record of the Roman period is the sarcophagus of Valerius Amandinus, discovered in the north green of the Abbey⁵ in 1869.

¹ For the story of the Temple of Diana, as well as for all other illustrations rendered to the Abbey, partly by parallel, partly by contrast, from its great rival, the Cathedral of London, I have a melancholy pleasure in referring to the 'Annals of St. Paul's,' the last work of its illustrious and venerable chief, Dean Milman.

² Letter of Sir Christopher Wren (*Life*, App. xxix. p. 105). The two main British divinities were so called by the Romans, and Apollo is said to have been *Belin*,—according to one version the origin of *Billingsgate*. (See Fuller's *Church Hist.* i. § 2.)

³ Westminster alone is ascribed to him in Brompton. (Twysden, c. 724.) For his supposed establishment of the Sanctuary, see Abbot Feckenham's speech, A. D. 1555, quoted in Chap. V.

⁴ Ellis's *Dugdale*, p. 3; Milman's *Church of S. Paul's*, p. 3.

⁵ For a complete account of it, see the dissertations on it collected by Mr. Albert Way, and reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*. It is now in the entrance to the Chapter-house.

The clouds which hang so thick over the Temple of Apollo and the Church of Lucius are only so far removed when we reach the time of Sebert,¹ as that in him we arrive at an unquestionably historical personage, if indeed the Sebert to whom the foundation of the Abbey is ascribed be the king of that name in Essex, and not, as another writer represents, a private citizen of London.² But Bede's entire omission of Westminster in his account³ of Sebert's connection with St. Paul's throws a doubt over the whole story, and the introduction of the name in relation to Westminster may be only another attempt of the Westminster monks to redress their balance against St. Paul's.

A. D. 616.
Church of
Sebert.

Still the tradition afterwards appeared in so substantial a form, that Sebert's grave has never ceased to be shown in the Abbey from the time of the erection of the present building. Originally it would seem to have been inside the church. Then, during the repairs of Henry III., the remains were deposited on the south side of the entrance to the Chapter-house,⁴ and subsequently, in the reign of Edward II., removed to the Choir,⁵ where they occupy a position on the south of the altar analogous to that of Dagobert the founder of St. Denys. A figure, supposed to be

Grave of
Sebert.

¹ 'Our father Saba,' as his wild sons used to call him, when they envied the fragments of 'white bread' which they saw the bishop give him in the Eucharist. (Bede, ii. 5.) The fine description of the Abbey by Montalembert (*Moines de l'Occident*, iv. 432) is in connection with Sebert.

² Sulcard, in Cotton MSS. Faustina, B. iii., f. 12, in marg.; Higden, p. 228; Thorn. Twyden, c. 1768.

³ Bede, ii. 3.

⁴ Fleete MS.

⁵ Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 456. See the Epitaph in Ackermann, i. 83. The right arm was supposed to be still undecayed, with the skin clinging to the bone, A. D. 1307. (Walsingham, i. 114; Rishanger, p. 425.)

that of Sebert, is painted over it.¹ The same tradition that records his burial in the Chapter-house adds to his remains those of his wife Ethelgoda and his sister Ricula.²

The gradual formation of a monastic body, indicated in the charters of Offa and Edgar, marks the spread of the Benedictine Order throughout England, under the influence of Dunstan.³ The 'terror' of the spot, which had still been its chief characteristic in the charter of the wild Offa, had in the days of the more peaceful Edgar given way to a dubious 'renown.' Twelve monks is the number traditionally said to have been established by Dunstan.⁴ A few acres near Staines formed their chief property, and their monastic character was sufficiently recognised to have given to the old locality of the 'terrible place' the name of the 'Western Monastery,' or 'Minster of the West.'⁵ But this seems to have been overrun by the Danes, and it would have had no further history but for the combination of circumstances which directed hither the notice of Edward the Confessor.

III. It has been truly remarked that there is a striking difference between the origin of Pagan temples and of

¹ A sarcophagus of Purbeck marble was found under the canopy, in 1866, when the modern structure of brickwork was removed, which had been erected by Dean Ireland, and which is elaborately described in *Gent. Mag.* xcvi. p. 306.

² His mother, according to Bede (ii. 3), sister to Ethelbert. See Chapters III. and V.

³ William of Malmesbury. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* (Hardy), i. 237, 240, 247; and *De Gest. Pont. Angl.* (Savile, *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 202.)

⁴ Diceto. Twysden, c. 456.

⁵ Charter of Offa (Abbey Archives, Charters, No. 3), 'loco terribili quod dicitur sct Westmunster.' Charter of Edgar (*ibid.*, Charters, No. 5), 'nominatissimo loco qui dicitur Westmynster.' The name must have been given in contradistinction to St. Paul's in the East.

Christian churches. 'The Pagan temples were always the public works of nations and of communities. They were national buildings, dedicated to national purposes. The mediæval churches, Historical origin. on the other hand, were the erections of individuals, monuments of personal piety, tokens of the hope of a personal reward.'¹ This cannot be said, without reserve, of Southern Europe, where, as at Venice and Florence, the chief churches were due to the munificence of the State. But in England it is true even of the one ecclesiastical building which is most especially national — the gift not of private individuals, but of kings. Westminster Abbey is, in its origin, the monument not merely of the personal piety, but of the personal character and circumstances of its Founder.

We know the Confessor well from the descriptions preserved by his contemporaries. His appearance was such as no one could forget. It was almost that of an Albino. His full-flushed rose-red cheeks strangely contrasted with the milky whiteness of his waving hair and beard. His eyes were always fixed on the ground. There was a kind of magical charm in his thin white hands and his long transparent fingers,² which not unnaturally led to the belief that there resided in them a healing power of stroking away the diseases of his subjects. His manners presented a singular mixture of gravity and levity. Usually affable and gentle, so as to make even a refusal look like an acceptance, he burst forth at times into a fury which

Edward the
Confessor.
His outward
appearance.

¹ Merivale's Boyle Lectures, *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 122.

² *Longis interlucentibus digitis.* (Harleian Life, p. 240.) The presence of 'the pious king' is intimated in Shakspeare (*Macbeth*, act iv. scene 3) only by the crowd waiting to be touched for the Evil.

showed that the old Berserkir rage was not dead within him.¹ 'By God and His mother, I will give you just such another turn if ever it come in my way!' was the utterance of what was thought by his biographers a mild expression of his noble indignation against a peasant who interfered with the pleasure of his chase.² Austere as were his habits — old even as a child³ — he startled his courtiers sometimes by a sudden smile or a peal of laughter, for which they or he could only account by some mysterious vision.⁴ He cared for little but his devotional exercises and hunting. He would spend hours in church, and then, as soon as he was set free, would be off to the woods for days together, flying his hawks and cheering on his hounds.

With his gentle piety was blended a strange hardness towards those to whom he was most bound. He was harsh to his mother. His alienation from his wife, even in that fantastic age, was thought extremely questionable.⁵ His good faith was not unimpeachable. 'There was nothing,' it was said, 'that he would not promise from the exigency of the time. He pledged his faith on both sides, and confirmed by oath anything that was demanded of him.'⁶ On the other hand a childish kindness towards the poor and suffering made them look upon him as their natural protector. The unreasoning benevolence which, in a

¹ Harleian Life, 225. See this well drawn out in the *North British Review*, xlii. 361.

² William of Malmesbury, ii. 13. (See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 27.)

³ Ailred of Rievaulx, c. 373.

⁴ As when he saw in a trance the shipwreck of the King of Denmark (Oxford Life, 244; Cambridge Life, 1342), or the movements of the Seven Sleepers. See p. 35.

⁵ Harleian Life, 480-495.

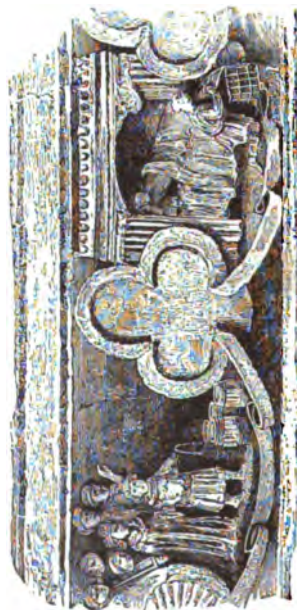
⁶ William of Malmesbury, ii. 13. Harleian Life, 875-890.



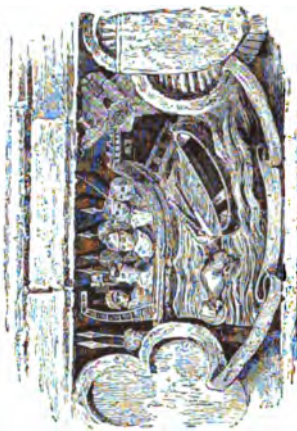
THE VISIT TO THE SEVEN SLEEPERS.



ST. JOHN AND THE PILGRIMS.



THE REMISSION OF THE DANKELT.



THE SHIPWRECK OF THE KING OF DENMARK

THE PARDON OF THE THIEF.

RELIEFS FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

modern French romance, appears as an extravagance of an unworldly bishop, was literally ascribed to the Confessor in a popular legend, of which the representation was depicted on the tapestries that once hung round the Choir, and may still be seen in one of the compartments of the screen of his shrine.¹ The king was reposing after the labours of the day. His chamberlain, Hugolin, had opened the chest of the royal monies to pay the servants of the palace. The scullion crept in to avail himself, as he supposed, of the King's sleep, and carried off the remains of the treasure. At his third entrance Edward started up, and warned him to fly before the return of Hugolin ('He will not leave you even a halfpenny'); and to the remonstrances of Hugolin answered, 'The thief hath more need of it than we — enough treasure hath King Edward!'²

Another peculiar combination marks his place equally in the history of England and in the foundation of the Abbey. He was the last of the Saxons — that is, the last of those concerned in the long struggle against the Danes. The last of the Saxons. As time went on, the national feeling transfigured him almost into a Saxon Arthur.³ In him was personified all the hatred with which the Anglo-Saxon Christians regarded the Pagan Norsemen. His exile to escape from their tyranny raised him at once to the rank of 'Confessor,' as Edmund the East

¹ The legends which are here cited are not found in the contemporary life of the Confessor in the eleventh century, and therefore cannot be trusted for the accuracy of their facts or their language, but only as representing the feeling of the next generation. The screen is of the fifteenth century, but it faithfully preserves these records of the twelfth. Nothing shows the rapidity of the growth of these legends more than the fact that out of the fourteen subjects thus represented, so few are actually historical.

² Cambridge Life, 1000-1040.

³ See the comparison in the Cambridge Life, 900-910.

Angle, by his death in battle with them, had been in like manner raised to the rank of 'Martyr.' A curious legend represents that, on entering his treasury, he saw a black demon dancing on the casks¹ which contained the gold extracted from his subjects to pay the obnoxious tax to the Danes, and how in consequence the Danegelt was for ever abolished.

He was also the first of the Normans. His reign is the earliest link which reunites England to the Continent of Europe. Hardly since the invasion of The first of the Normans. Cæsar — certainly not since the arrival of Augustine — had such an influx of new ideas poured into our insular commonwealth as came with Edward from his Norman exile. His mother Emma and his maternal grandfather Richard were more to him than his father Ethelred; the Norman clergy and monks than his own rude Anglo-Saxon hierarchy. His long hair and beard, distinguishing his appearance from that of the shorn and shaven heads of his Norman kinsmen, were almost the only outward marks of his Saxon origin. The French handwriting superseded in his court the old Anglo-Saxon characters;² the French seals, under his auspices, became the type of the sign-manual of England for centuries.³ From him the Norman civilisation spread not only into England, but into Scotland. His grandnephew Edgar Atheling, as the head of the Anglo-Norman migration into the north, was the father of the Scottish Lowlands.

¹ Cambridge Life, 940-961. The casks are represented in the frieze of the screen. This long continued to be the mode of keeping money, as appears from the story of Wolsey and the Jester. For the abolition of the Danegelt see Cambridge Life, 922, 1884; Oxford Life, 302.

² Lappenberg (Thorpe), ii. 246.

³ Palgrave's *History of England*, p. 328.

These were the qualities and circumstances which went to make up the Founder of Westminster Abbey. We have now to ask, What special motive induced the selection of this particular site and object for his devotion?

The idea of a regal Abbey on a hitherto unexampled scale may have been suggested or strengthened by the accounts brought back to him of Reims, where his envoys had been present at the consecration of the Abbey of St. Remy, hard by the cathedral in which the French kings were crowned.¹ By this time also the wilderness of Thorney was cleared; and the crowded river, with its green meadows, and the sunny aspect of the island,² may have had a charm for the King, whose choice had hitherto lain in the rustic fields of Islip and Windsor.

But the prevailing motive was of a more peculiar kind, belonging to times long since passed away. In that age, as still amongst some classes in Roman Catholic countries, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint. Amongst Edward's favourites St. Peter was chief.³ On his protection, whilst in Normandy, when casting about for help, the exiled Prince had thrown himself, and vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would make a pilgrimage to the Apostle's grave at Rome. This vow was, it is said, further impressed on his mind by the arrival of a messenger from England, almost immediately after-

¹ *Saxon Chronicle*, 1049.

² The combination of motives is well given in the contemporary Life. (Harleian MS. 980-985.) Quoted as the motto to this chapter.

³ The church of the Confessor's residence at Old Windsor is dedicated to St. Peter, and the site of his palace is thence called Peter's Hill.

wards, with the announcement of the departure of the Danes, and of his own election as King.¹ It was yet further confirmed by a vision, real or feigned, of Brithwold, Bishop of Winchester, at Glastonbury,² in which St. Peter, the patron saint of Winchester Cathedral, appeared to him, and announced that the Bishop himself should crown a youth, whom the saint dearly loved, to be King of England.³

Accordingly, when Edward came to the throne, he announced to his Great Council his intention of fulfilling his vow. The proposal was received with horror by nobles and people. It was met both by constitutional objections, and on the ground of the dangers of the expedition. The King could not leave the kingdom without the consent of the Commons; he could not undertake such a journey without encountering the most formidable perils — 'the roads, the sea, the mountains, the valleys, ambuscades at the bridges and the fords,' and most of all 'the felon Romans, who seek nothing but gain and gifts.' 'The red gold and the white silver they covet as a leech covets blood.'⁴ The King at last gave way, on the suggestion that a deputation might be sent to the Pope who might release him from his vow. The deputation went. The release came, on the condition that he should found or restore a monastery of St. Peter, of which the King should be the especial patron. It was, in fact, to be a pilgrimage

¹ Cambridge Life, 780-825.

² Ailred, 373. There is a difficulty in distinguishing Brithwold, Bishop of Winchester, and Brithwold, Bishop of Wilton. The chronicles in general are in favour of Winchester. One of the Lives of the Confessor is in favour of Wilton.

³ Cambridge Life, 640-700.

⁴ Ibid. p. 232. The various dangers of the journey to Rome are well given in William of Malmesbury (ii. 13).

by proxy, such as has sometimes been performed by traversing at home the same number of miles that would be travelled on the way to Palestine;¹ sometimes by sending the heart after death,² to perform what the living had been unable to accomplish in person.

Where, then, was a monastery of St. Peter to be found which could meet this requirement? It might possibly have been that at Winchester. Perhaps in this hope the story of Bishop Brithwold's vision was revived. But there was also the little 'minster,' west of London, near which the King from time to time resided, and of which his friend Edwin,³ the courtier abbot, was head. It had, as far back as memory extended, been dedicated to St. Peter. A Welsh legend of later times maintained that it was at 'Lampeter,' 'the Church of Peter,' that the Apostle Connection of the Abbey with the name of St. Peter. saw the vision in which he was warned that he must shortly 'put off his earthly tabernacle.'⁴ If the original foundation of the Abbey can be traced back to Sebert, the name, probably, must have been given in recollection of the great Roman Sanctuary, whence Augustine, the first missionary, had come.⁵ And Sebert was believed to have dedicated his church to St. Peter in the Isle of Thorns, in order to balance the compliment he had paid to St. Paul on Ludgate Hill:⁶ a reappearance, in another form, of the counterbalancing claims of the rights of Diana and Apollo — the earliest

¹ As in the case of the late King of Saxony.

² As in the case of Edward I. of England, and Robert the Bruce and James I. of Scotland.

³ See Chapter V.

⁴ 2 Pet. i. 14. (I cannot recover the reference to this legend.)

⁵ See *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 11.

⁶ Ailred, c. 384.

stage of that rivalry which afterwards expressed itself in the proverb of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul.'¹

This thin thread of tradition, which connected the ruinous pile in the river-island with the Roman reminiscences of Augustine, was twisted firm and fast round the resolve of Edward; and by the concentration of his mind² on this one object was raised the first distinct idea of an Abbey, which the Kings of England should regard as their peculiar treasure.

There are, probably, but few Englishmen now who care to know that the full title of Westminster Abbey is the 'Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter.' But at the time of its first foundation, and long afterwards, the whole neighbourhood and the whole story of the foundation breathed of nothing else but the name, which was itself a reality. 'The soil of St. Peter' was a recognised legal phrase. The name of Peter's 'Eye,' or 'Island,'³ which still lingers in the low land of Battersea, came by virtue of its connection with the Chapter of Westminster.⁴ Anyone who infringed the charter of the Abbey would, it was declared, be specially condemned by St. Peter, when he sits on his throne judging the twelve tribes of Israel.⁵ Of the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster, as of the more celebrated basilica of St. Peter at Rome, it may be said that '*super hanc Petram*' the Church of Westminster has been built.

¹ See Chapter VI.

² Dagobert, in like manner, had a peculiar veneration for St. Denys.

³ Smith's *Antiquities*, p. 34.

⁴ The 'Cock' in Tothill Street, where the workmen of the Abbey received their pay, was probably from the cock of St. Peter. A black marble statue of St. Peter is said to lie at the bottom of the well under the pump in Prince's Street. (Walcott, 73, 280.)

⁵ Pope Nicholas's Letter, Kemble (*Codex*), § 825.

Round the undoubted fact that this devotion to St. Peter was Edward's prevailing motive, gathered, during his own lifetime or immediately after, the various legends which give it form and shape in connection with the special peculiarities of the Abbey.

There was in the neighbourhood of Worcester, 'far from men in the wilderness, on the slope of a wood, in a cave, deep down in the grey rock,' a holy hermit 'of great age, living on fruits and roots.' One night, when, after reading in the Scriptures 'how hard are the pains of hell, and how the enduring life of Heaven is sweet and to be desired,' he could neither sleep nor repose, St. Peter appeared to him, 'bright and beautiful, like to a clerk,' and warned him to tell the King that he was released from his vow; that on that very day his messengers would return from Rome; that 'at Thorney, two leagues from the city,' was the spot marked out where, in an ancient church, 'situated low,' he was to establish a Benedictine monastery, which should be 'the gate of heaven, the ladder of prayer, whence those who serve St. Peter there shall by him be admitted into Paradise.' The hermit writes the account of the vision on parchment, seals it with wax, and brings it to the King, who compares it with the answer of the messengers just arrived from Rome, and determines on carrying out the design as the Apostle had ordered.¹

Legend of
the Hermit
of Wor-
cester.

Another legend² still more precisely developed the

¹ Cambridge Life, 1740; Oxford Life, 270.

² That this story was not in existence before the Confessor's reign, appears from its absence in the original charter of Edgar (Widmore's *Inquiry*, p. 22). The first trace of it is the allusion in the Confessor's charters, if genuine (Kemble, vol. iv. §§ 824-6). It does not appear in the contemporary Harleian Life, but is fully developed in Sulcard and Ailred.

attractions of the spot still further. In the vision to the Worcestershire hermit, St. Peter was reported to have said that he had consecrated the church at Thorney with his own hands. How this came to pass was now circulated in versions slightly varying from each other, but of which the main features agreed. It was on a certain Sunday night in the reign of King Sebert, the eve of the day fixed by Mellitus, first Bishop of London, for the consecration of the original monastery in the Isle of Thorns, that a fisherman of the name of Edric was casting his nets from the shore of the island into the Thames.¹ On the other side of the river, where Lambeth now stands, a bright light attracted his notice. He crossed, and found a venerable personage, in foreign attire, calling for some one to ferry him over the dark stream. Edric consented. The stranger landed, and proceeded at once to the church. On his way he evoked with his staff the two springs of the island. The air suddenly became bright with a celestial splendour. The building stood out clear, 'without darkness or shadow.' A host of angels, descending and reascending, with sweet odours and flaming candles, assisted, and the church was dedicated with the usual solemnities. The fisherman remained in his boat, so awestruck by the sight, that when the mysterious visitant returned and asked for food, he was obliged to reply that he had caught not a single fish. Then the stranger revealed his name: 'I am Peter, keeper of the keys of Heaven. When Mellitus arrives to-morrow, tell him what you have seen; and show him the token that I, St. Peter, have consecrated my own Church of St. Peter, Westminster, and have

¹ Cambridge Life, 2060; Sulcard in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 289.

anticipated the Bishop of London.¹ For yourself, go out into the river; you will catch a plentiful supply of fish, whereof the larger part shall be salmon. This I have granted on two conditions — first, that you never fish again on Sundays; secondly, that you pay a tithe of them to the Abbey of Westminster.’

The next day, at dawn, ‘the Bishop Mellitus rises, and begins to prepare the anointing oils and the utensils for the great dedication.’ He, with the King, arrives at the appointed hour. At the door they are met by Edric with the salmon in his hand, which he presents ‘from St. Peter in a gentle manner to the Bishop.’ He then proceeds to point out the marks ‘of the twelve crosses on the church, the walls within and without moistened with holy water, the letters of the Greek alphabet written twice over distinctly on the sand’ of the now sacred island, ‘the traces of the oil, and (chiefest of the miracles) the droppings of the angelic candles.’ The Bishop professed himself entirely convinced, and returned from the church, ‘satisfied that the dedication had been performed sufficiently, better, and in a more saintly fashion than a hundred such as he could have done.’²

The story is one which has its counterparts in other churches. The dedication of Einsiedlen, in Switzerland, and that of the rock at Le Puy, in Auvergne,³ were as-

¹ ‘Episcopalem benedictionem meæ sanctificationis auctoritate præveni.’ (Ailred, cc. 385, 386. Sporley and Sulcard in Dugdale, i. 288, 289.)

² The Roman annalists are not satisfied with the purely British character of this legend, and add that Mellitus being in doubt deferred the consecration till being at Rome in a council he consulted with Pope Boniface IV., who decided against it. Surius, tom. i. in Vit. St. Januar.; Baronius, vol. viii. anno 610.

³ The bells were rung by the hands of angels, and the church was called the Chamber of Angels. (Mandet’s *Hist. du Velay*, ii. 27.)

cribed to angelic agency. The dedication of the chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury was ascribed to Christ Himself, who appeared to warn off St. David, as St. Peter at Westminster did Mellitus. St. Nicholas claimed to have received his restored pall, and St. Denys the sacraments of the Church, from the same source, and not from any episcopal or priestly hands. All these legends have in common the merit of containing a lurking protest against the necessity of external benediction for things or persons sacred by their own intrinsic virtue—a covert declaration of the great catholic principle (to use Hooker's words) that God's grace is not tied 'to outward forms.' But the Westminster tradition possesses, besides, the peculiar charm of the local colouring of the scene, and betrays the peculiar motives whence it arose. We are carried back by it to the times when the wild Thames, with its fishermen and its salmon,¹ was still an essential feature of the neighbourhood of the Abbey. We see in it the importance attached to the name of the Apostle. We see also the union of innocent fiction with worldly craft, which marks so many legends both of Pagan and Christian times.² It represents the earliest protest of the Abbots of Westminster against the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London. It was recited by them long afterwards as the solid foundation of the inviolable right of sanctuary in Westminster.³ It contains the claim established by them on the tithe of the Thames fisheries from Gravesend to Staines. A lawsuit was successfully carried by the Convent of Westminster against the Rector of

¹ A 'Thames salmon,' with asparagus, was still a customary dish in the time of Charles I. (State Papers, April 12, 1629.)

² See *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 80.

³ See Chapter V.

Rotherhithe, in 1282, on the ground that St. Peter had granted the first haul.¹ The parish clergy, however, struggled against the claim, and the monastic historian Flete, in the gradually increasing scarcity of salmon, saw a Divine judgment on the fishermen for not having complied with St. Peter's request. Once a year, as late as 1382, one of the fishermen, as representative of Edric, took his place beside the Prior, and brought in a salmon for St. Peter. It was carried in state through the middle of the Refectory. The Prior and the whole fraternity rose as it passed up to the high table, and then the fisherman received ale and bread from the cellarer in return for the fish's tail.²

The little Church or Chapel of St. Peter, thus dignified by the stories of its first origin, was further believed to have been specially endeared to Edward by two miracles, reported to have occurred within Legend of the Cripple. it in his own lifetime. The first was the cure of a crippled Irishman, Michael, who sate in the road between the Palace and 'the Chapel of St. Peter, which was near,' and who explained to the inexorable Hugolin that, after six pilgrimages to Rome in vain, St. Peter had promised his cure if the King would, on his own royal neck, carry him to the monastery. The King immediately consented; and, amidst the scoffs of the Court, bore the poor man to the steps of the High Altar. There he was received by Godric the sacristan, and walked away on his own restored feet, hanging his stool on the wall for a trophy.³

Before that same High Altar was also believed to have been seen one of the Eucharistical por- Legend of the Sacrament. tents, so frequent in the Middle Ages. A child,

¹ See Neale, p. 6; Ware's *Consuetudines*.

² Pennant's *London*, p. 57.

³ Cambridge Life, 1920-2020.

'pure and bright like a spirit,' appeared to the King in the sacramental elements.¹ Leofric, Earl of Mercia, who, with his famous countess Godiva, was present, saw it also. The King imposed secrecy upon them during his life. The Earl confided the secret to a holy man at Worcester (perhaps the hermit before mentioned), who placed the account of it in a chest, which, after all concerned were dead, opened of itself and revealed the sacred deposit.

Such as these were the motives of Edward. Under their influence was fixed what has ever since been the local centre of the English monarchy and nation—of the Palace and the Legislature no less than of the Abbey.

There had, no doubt, already existed, by the side of the Thames, an occasional resort of the English Kings. But the Roman fortress in London, or the Saxon city of Winchester, had been hitherto their usual abode. Edward himself had formerly spent his time chiefly at his birthplace, Islip, or at the rude palace on the rising ground, still marked by various antique remains, above 'Old Windsor.'² But now, for the sake of superintending the new Church at Westminster, he lived, more than any previous king, in the regal residence (which he in great part rebuilt) close beside it. The Abbey and the Palace grew together, and into each other, in the closest union: just as in Scotland, a few years later, Dunfermline Palace and Dunfermline Abbey sprang up side by side; and again, Holyrood Abbey—first within the Castle of Edinburgh, and then on its present site—by Holyrood Palace. 'The Chamber of St. Edward,' as it was called from

¹ Cambridge Life, 2515-55. It appears on the screen of the chapel.

² Runny-Mede, 'the meadow of assemblies,' derives its name and its original association from this neighbourhood of the royal residence.

him, or 'the Painted Chamber,' from its subsequent decorations, was the kernel of the Palace of Westminster. This fronted what is still called the 'Old Palace Yard,' as distinguished from the 'New Palace' of William Rufus, of which the only vestige is the framework of the ancient Hall, looking out on what, from its novelty at that time, was called the 'New Palace Yard,'—'New,' like the '*New Castle*' of the Conqueror, or the '*New College*' of Wykeham.

The privileges¹ which the King was anxious to obtain for the new institution were in proportion to the magnificence of his design, and the difficulties encountered for this purpose are a proof of the King's eagerness in the cause. As always in such cases, it was necessary to procure a confirmation of these privileges from the Pope. The journey to Rome was, in those Journey to Rome. troubled times, a serious affair. The deputa- tion consisted of Aldred,² who had lately been translated from Worcester to York; the King's two chaplains, Gyso and Walter; Tosti and Gurth, the King's brothers-in-law; and Gospatrick, kinsman of the Confessor and companion of Tosti. Some of the laymen had taken this opportunity to make their pilgrimage to the graves of the Apostles. The Archbishop of York had also his own private ends to serve—the grant of the pall for York, and a dispensation to retain the see of Worcester. The Pope refused his request, on the not unreasonable ground that the two sees should not be held together. Tosti was furious on behalf of his friend Aldred, but could not gain his point. On their

¹ Cambridge Life, 2325. Kemble, §§ 824, 825. See Chapter V. The exact statement of these privileges depends on the genuineness of the charters, but their general outline is unquestionable.

² Harleian Life, 755–80.

return they were attacked by a band of robbers at Sutri, a spot still dangerous for the same reason. Some of the party were stripped to the skin — amongst them the Archbishop of York.¹ Tosti was saved only by the magnificent appearance of Gospatrick, who rode before, and misled the robbers into the belief that he was the powerful Earl.² Meanwhile Tosti returned to Rome, in a state of fierce indignation, and, with his well-known 'adamantine obstinacy,' declared that he would take measures for stopping Peter's pence from England, by making it known that the Pope, whose claims were so formidable abroad, was in the hands of robbers at home.³ With this threat (so often repeated in every form and tone since) he carried the suit of his friend; and the deputation returned, not only with the privileges of Westminster, but with the questionable confirmation of Aldred's questionable demands.

The Abbey had been fifteen years in building. The King had spent upon it one-tenth of the property of the kingdom. It was to be a marvel of its kind. As in its origin it bore the traces of the fantastic childish character of the King and of the age, in its architecture it bore the stamp of the peculiar position which Edward occupied in English history between Saxon and Norman. By birth he was a Saxon, but in all else he was a foreigner. Accordingly, the Church at Westminster was a wide sweeping innovation on all that had been seen before.⁴ 'Destroying the old

¹ Stubbs, c. 1702. William of Malmesbury in *Life of Wulfstan*, pt. ii. c. 10. (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. 250.)

² Harleian Life, 770.

³ Brompton, c. 952: Knyghton, c. 2336.

⁴ The collegiate church of Waltham, which was founded by Harold in A. D. 1060, must have been the nearest approach to this. But whatever view is taken of the present structure of the church at Waltham,

building,' he says in his Charter, 'I have built up a new one from the very foundation.'¹ Its fame as 'a new style'² of composition' lingered in the minds of men for generations. It was the first cruciform church in England, from which all the rest of like shape were copied—an expression of the increasing hold which the idea of the Crucifixion in the tenth century had laid on the imagination of Europe.³ Its massive roof and pillars formed a contrast with the rude wooden rafters and beams of the common Saxon churches. Its very size—occupying, as it did, almost the whole area of the present building—was in itself portentous. The deep foundations, of large square blocks of gray stone, were duly laid. The east end was rounded into an apse. A tower rose in the centre crowned by a cupola of wood. At the western end were erected two smaller towers, with five large bells. The hard strong stones were richly sculptured. The windows were filled with stained glass. The roof was covered with lead. The cloisters, chapter-house, refectory, dormitory, the infirmary, with its spacious chapel,⁴ if not completed by Edward, were all begun, and finished in the next generation on the same plan. This structure, venerable as

it was considerably smaller than the Abbey. The proof of the size of the Confessor's church rests on the facts—1. That the Lady Chapel of Henry III. must have abutted on the east end of the old choir as of the present. 2. That the cloisters occupied the same relative position, as may be seen from the existing substructures. 3. That the pillars, as excavated in the choir in the repairs of 1866, stand at the same distance from each other as the present pillars. The nave of the church and the chapel of St. Catherine must have been finished under Henry I., the south cloister under William Rufus.

¹ Kemble, No. 824, iv. 176.

² Matthew Paris, p. 2.

³ Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vi. 507.

⁴ Cambridge Life, 2270–2310.

it would be if it had lasted to our time, has almost entirely vanished. Possibly one vast dark arch in the southern transept—certainly the substructures of the dormitory, with their huge pillars, ‘grand and regal at the bases and capitals’¹—the massive low-browed passage, leading from the great cloister to Little Dean’s Yard—and some portions of the refectory and of the infirmary chapel, remain as specimens of the work which astonished the last age of the Anglo-Saxon and the first age of the Norman monarchy.²

The institution was made as new as the building. Abbot Edwin remained; but a large body of monks was imported from Exeter,³ coincidently with the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter in the person of the King’s friend Leofwin. The services still continued in the old building whilst the new one was rising. A small chapel, dedicated to St. Margaret, which stood on the north side of the present Abbey,⁴ is said to have been pulled down; and a new church, bearing the same name, was built on the site of the present Church of St. Margaret.⁵ The affection entertained for the martyr-saint of Antioch by the House of Cerdic appears in the continuation of her name in Edward’s grandniece, Margaret of Scotland.

The end of the Confessor was now at hand. Two legends mark its approach. The first is as follows. It was at Easter.⁶ He was sitting in his gold-embroidered

¹ Cambridge Life, 2300.

² See *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 3, 4; Freeman’s *Norman Conquest*, ii. 509.

³ Cambridge Life, 2390; Oxford Life, 381.

⁴ Ackermann, i. 86, 87.

⁵ Widmore, p. 12. Compare the same process at Pershore and Norwich.

⁶ William of Malmesbury, ii. 13.

robe, and solemnly crowned, in the midst of his courtiers, who were voraciously devouring their food after the long abstinence of Lent. On a sudden he sank into a deep abstraction. Then came ^{Legend of the Seven Sleepers.} one of his curious laughs,¹ and again his rapt meditation. He retired into his chamber, and was followed by Duke Harold, the Archbishop, and the Abbot of Westminster.² To them he confided his vision. He had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus suddenly turn from their right sides to their left, and recognised in this omen the sign of war, famine, and pestilence for the coming seventy years, during which the sleepers were to lie in their new position. Immediately on hearing this, the Duke despatched a knight, the Archbishop a bishop, the Abbot a monk, to the Emperor of Constantinople.³ To Mount Celion under his guidance they went, and there found the Seven Sleepers as the King had seen them. The proof of this portent at once confirmed the King's prevision, and received its own confirmation in the violent convulsions which disturbed the close of the eleventh century.

The other legend has a more personal character. The King was on his way to the dedication of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.⁴ As Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, was the saint before ^{Legend of the Pilgrim.} whom the Confessor trembled with a mysterious awe,

¹ Ailred, c. 395.

² The 'Duke Harold' is named in the legend, 'Le Ducs Harauldx' (*Cambridge Life*, 338); and it can hardly be doubted that by the prelate and abbot were meant the Primate and the Abbot of Westminster.

³ Oxford Life, 409. Their journey is represented in the screen.

⁴ By one of the Saxon chroniclers (see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 512) this church is said to have been at Clavering. There was a chapel of St. John close to the palace, now that of St. Stephen (Smith, 127). The parish of St. John, in Westminster, was created in the last century.

John, the Apostle of Love, was the saint whom he venerated with a familiar tenderness.¹ A beggar implored him for the love of St. John, to bestow alms upon him. Hugolin was not to be found. In the chest there was no gold or silver. The King remained in silent thought, and then drew off from his hand a ring, 'large, royal, and beautiful,' which he gave to the beggar, who vanished. Two English pilgrims, from the town of Ludlow,² shortly afterwards found themselves benighted in Syria; when suddenly the path was lighted up, and an old man, white and hoary, preceded by two tapers, accosted them. They told him of their country and their saintly King, on which the old man, 'joyously like to a clerk,' guided them to a hostelry, and announced that he was John the Evangelist, the special friend of Edward; and gave them the ring to carry back, with the warning that in six months the King should be with him in Paradise. The pilgrims returned. They found the King at his palace in Essex, said to be called from this incident *Havering atte Bower*, and with a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. He acknowledged the ring, and prepared for his end accordingly.³

The long-expected day of the dedication of the Abbey at last arrived. 'At Midwinter,' says the Saxon

¹ Ailred, c. 397.

² Hence the representation of the story in the painted window of St. Lawrence's Church at Ludlow.

³ Cambridge Life, 3455-3590; Oxford Life, 410-40. The story is one of those which attached to St. John, from the old belief (John xxi. 23) that he was not dead, but sleeping. Compare his apparition to James IV. at Linlithgow. It occupies three compartments on the screen, and is also to be seen on the tiles of the Chapter-house floor. (See *Archæol.* xxix. 39.) From the time of Henry III. a figure of St. John, as the pilgrim, stood by the Confessor's shrine; and one such still stands in Henry V.'s Chantry.

Chronicle, 'King Edward came to Westminster, and had the minster there consecrated, which he had himself built, to the honour of God and St. Peter, and all God's saints.' It was at Christmas-time (when, as usual at that age, the Court assembled) that the dedication so eagerly desired was to be accomplished. On Christmas Day he appeared, according to custom, wearing his royal crown ;¹ but on Christmas night, his strength, prematurely exhausted, suddenly gave way. The mortal illness, long anticipated, set in. He struggled, however, through the three next days, even appearing, with his occasional bursts of hilarity, in the stately banquets with the bishops and nobles. On St. John's Day he grew so rapidly worse, that he gave orders for the solemnity to be fixed for the morrow.² On the morning of that morrow (Wednesday, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, Childermas³) he roused himself sufficiently to sign the charter of the Foundation. The peculiar nature of the Festival may have had an attraction for the innocent character of the King ; but in the later Middle Ages, and even down to the last century, a strong prejudice prevailed against beginning anything of moment on that day.⁴ If this belief existed already in the time of the Confessor, the selection of the day is a proof of the haste with which the dedication was pushed forward. It is, at any rate, an instance of a most auspicious work begun (if so be) on the most inauspicious day of the

Dedication
of the
Abbey.

1065.

December
25.

1065.

December
27.

December
28.

¹ Cambridge Life, 3610.

² Ailred, c. 399.

³ So in the Charter itself (Kemble, iv. 180). Robert of Gloucester and Ailred of Rievaulx fix it on St. John's Day.

⁴ Home's *Everyday Book*, i. 1648. See Chapter II.

year. The signatures which follow the King's acquire a tragic interest in the light of the events of the next few months. Edith the Queen, her brothers Harold and Gurth, Stigand and Aldred, the two rival primates, are the most conspicuous. They, as the King's illness grew upon him, took his place at the consecration. He himself had arranged the ornaments, gifts, and relics;¹ but the Queen presided at the ceremony² (she is queen, as he is king, both in church³ and in palace); and the walls of Westminster Abbey, then white and fresh from the workman's tools, received from Stigand their first consecration — the first which, according to the legend of St. Peter's visit, had ever been given to the spot by mortal hands. By that effort the enfeebled frame and overstrained spirit of the King were worn out. On the evening of Innocents' Day he sank into a deep stupor and was laid in the chamber in Westminster Palace which long afterwards bore his name. On the third day, a startling rally took place. His voice again sounded loud and clear; his face resumed its brightness. But it was the rally of delirium. A few incoherent sentences broke from his lips. He described how in his trance he had seen two holy monks whom he remembered in Normandy, and how they foretold to him the coming disasters, which should only be ended when 'the green tree, after severance from its trunk and removal to the distance of three acres,

December
31.

¹ For the relics, see Dart, i. 37. They consisted of the usual extraordinary fragments of the dresses, etc., of the most sacred personages. The most remarkable were the girdle dropt by the Virgin to convince St. Thomas of her assumption (which is also shown in the Batopædi Convent of Mount Athos), and the cross which came over sea, against winds and waves, with the Confessor from Normandy.

² Ailred, c. 399.

³ Cambridge Life, 3655.

should return to its parent stem, and again bear leaf and fruit and flower.' The Queen was sitting on the ground, fondling his cold feet in her lap.¹ Beside her stood her brother Harold, Rodbert the keeper of the palace, and others who had been called in by Edward's revival. They were all terrorstruck. Archbishop Stigand alone had the courage to whisper into Harold's ear that the aged King was doting. The others carefully² caught his words; and the courtly poet of the next century rejoiced to trace in 'the three acres' the reigns of the three illegitimate kings¹⁰⁶⁶ who followed; and in the resuscitation of 'the parent tree,' the marriage of the First Henry with the Saxon Maud, and their ultimate issue in the Third Henry.³ Then followed a calm, and on the fifth day afterwards, with words variously reported, respecting the Queen, the succession, and the 'hope that he was passing from the land of the dead to the land of the living,' he breathed his last; and 'St. Peter, his friend, opened the gate of Paradise, and St. John, his own dear one, led him before the Divine Majesty.'

Death
of the
Confessor,
Jan. 5.

A horror, it is described, of great darkness filled the whole island. With him, the last lineal descendant of Cerdic, it seemed as if the happiness, the strength, the liberty of the English people had vanished away.⁴ So gloomy were the forebodings, so urgent the dangers which seemed to press, that on the very next day (Friday,⁵ the Festival of the Epiphany),

His burial,
Jan. 6.

¹ Harleian Life, 1480-90.

² Cambridge Life, 3714-85.

³ Ibid. 3934. See Chapter III.

⁴ Ailred, c. 402. Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1066.

⁵ The usual date of his death is January 5. In Fabian, Robert of Gloucester, and the Cambridge Life it is January 4.

took place at once his own funeral and the coronation of his successor.

We must reserve the other event of that memorable day — the coronation of Harold — for the next chapter, and follow the Confessor to his grave. The body, as it lay in the palace, seemed for a moment to recover its lifelike expression. The unearthly smile played once more over the rosy cheeks, the white beard beneath seemed whiter, and the thin stretched-out fingers paler and more transparent than ever.¹ As usual in the funerals of all our earlier sovereigns, he was attired in his royal habiliments: his crown upon his head; a crucifix² of gold, with a golden chain round his neck; the pilgrim's ring on his hand. Crowds flocked from all the neighbouring villages. The prelates and magnates assisted, and the body was laid before the high altar. Thrice at least it has since been identified: once when, in the curiosity to know whether it still

remained uncorrupt, the grave was opened by
1098. order of Henry I., in the presence of Bishop Gundulf, who plucked out a hair from the long white beard;³ again when, on its 'translation' by Henry II.,

1168. the ring was withdrawn; and again at its final

1209. removal to its present position by Henry III.

It must probably also have been seen both during its

1538. disturbance by Henry VIII., and its replace-

1557. ment by Mary; and for a moment the inter-

1685. rior of the coffin was disclosed, when a rafter broke in upon it after the coronation of James II.⁴

The crucifix and ring were given to the King.

¹ Harleian Life, 1590. Ailred, c. 402.

² Taylor's *Narrative of the Finding of the Crucifix* in 1688, p. 12.

³ Ailred, c. 408.

⁴ Shortly after the coronation of James II., in removing the scaffold, the coffin in which it was enclosed 'was found to be broke,' and 'Charles

In the centre of Westminster Abbey thus lies its Founder, and such is the story of its foundation. Even apart from the legendary elements in which it is involved, it is impossible not to be struck by the fantastic character of all its circumstances. We seem to be in a world of poetry. Edward is four centuries later than Ethelbert and Augustine; but the origin of Canterbury is commonplace and prosaic compared with the origin of Westminster. We can hardly imagine a figure more incongruous to the soberness of later times than the quaint, irresolute, wayward Prince whose chief characteristics have been just described. His titles of Confessor and Saint belong not to the general instincts of Christendom, but to the most transitory feelings of the age — the savage struggles between Saxon and Dane, the worldly policy of Norman rulers, the lingering regrets of Saxon sub-

Effects of
his char-
acter on
the Foun-
dation.

Taylor, Gent,' 'put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones, which he felt there, drew from underneath the shoulder-bones' a crucifix and gold chain, which he showed to Sancroft, Dugdale, and finally to the King, who took possession of it, and had the coffin closed. It was remarked as an omen that the relics were discovered on June 11, the day of Monmouth's landing, and given to the King on July 6, the day of his victory at Sedgemoor. (Taylor's *Narrative*, p. 16.) The story is doubted by Gough (*Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 7), but is strongly confirmed by the positive assertion of James II. to Evelyn (*Memoirs*, iii. 177), and to Pepys (*Letters in Camden Society*, No. lxxxviii. p. 211), and of Patrick, who was Prebendary of Westminster at the time. 'The workmen,' he says, 'chanced to have a look at the tomb of Edward the Confessor, so that they could see the shroud in which his body was wrapped, which was a mixed coloured silk very frail.' In the original MS. of Patrick's autobiography, a small piece of stuff less than an inch square, answering this description, is pinned to the paper, evidently as a specimen of the shroud. 'It appears to be a woven fabric of black and yellow silk.' (Patrick, ix. 560.) The gold crucifix and ring are said to have been on James's person when he was rifled by the Faversham fishermen in 1688, and to have been then taken from him. (Thoresby's *Diary*.)

jects. His opinions, his prevailing motives, were such as in no part of modern Europe would now be shared by any educated teacher or ruler. But in spite of these irreconcilable differences, there was a solid ground for the charm which he exercised over his contemporaries. His childish and eccentric fancies have passed away; but his innocent faith and his sympathy with his people are qualities which, even in our altered times, may still retain their place in the economy of the world. Westminster Abbey, so we hear it said, sometimes with a cynical sneer, sometimes with a timorous scruple, has admitted within its walls many who have been great without being good, noble with a nobleness of the earth earthy, worldly with the wisdom of this world. But it is a counterbalancing reflection, that the central tomb, round which all those famous names have clustered, contains the ashes of one who, weak and erring as he was, rests his claims of interment here not on any act of power or fame, but only on his artless piety and simple goodness. He — towards whose dust was attracted the fierce Norman, and the proud Plantagenet, and the grasping Tudor, and the fickle Stuart, even the Independent Oliver,¹ the Dutch William, and the Hanoverian George — was one whose humble graces are within the reach of every man, woman, and child of every time, if we rightly part the immortal substance from the perishable form.

Secondly, the foundation of the Abbey and the character of its Founder, consciously or unconsciously, in-
Connection with the Conquest. augurated the greatest change which, with one exception, the English nation has witnessed from that time till this. Not in vain had the slumbers

¹ Both Cromwell (see Marvell's poem on his funeral) and George II. (see Chapter III.) were compared to the Confessor on their deaths.

of the Seven Sleepers been disturbed; nor in vain the ghosts of the two Norman monks haunted the Confessor's deathbed, with their dismal warnings; nor in vain the comet appeared above the Abbey, towards which, in the Bayeux Tapestry, every eye is strained, and every finger pointing. The Abbey itself — the chief work of the Confessor's life, the last relic of the Royal House of Cerdic — was the shadow cast before the coming event, the portent of the mighty future. When Harold stood by the side of his brother Gurth and his sister Edith on the day of the dedication, and signed (if so be) his name with theirs as witness to the Charter of the Abbey, he might have seen that he was sealing his own doom, and preparing for his own destruction. The solid pillars, the ponderous arches, the huge edifice, with triple tower and sculptured stones and storied windows, that arose in the place and in the midst of the humble wooden churches and wattled tenements of the Saxon period, might have warned the nobles who were present that the days of their rule were numbered, and that the avenging, civilising, stimulating hand of another and a mightier race was at work, which would change the whole face of their language, their manners, their church, and their commonwealth.

The Abbey, so far exceeding the demands of the dull and stagnant minds of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, was founded not only in faith but in hope: in the hope that England had yet a glorious career to run: that the line of her sovereigns would not be broken even when the race of Alfred ceased to reign; that the troubles which the Confessor saw, in prophetic vision, darkening the whole horizon of Europe, would give way before a brighter day than he, or any living man, in the gloom of that disastrous winter and of that boisterous age,

could venture to anticipate. The Norman church erected by the Saxon king — the new future springing out of the dying past — the institution, founded for a special and transitory purpose, expanding, till it was co-extensive with the interests of the whole commonwealth through all its stages — are standing monuments of the continuity by which in England the new has been ever intertwined with the old; liberty thriving side by side with precedent, the days of the English Church and State 'linked' each to each 'by natural piety.'

Again, it may be almost said that the Abbey has risen and fallen in proportion to the growth of the strong English instinct of which, in spite of his Norman tendencies, Edward was the representative. The first miracle believed to have been wrought at his tomb exemplifies, as in a parable, the rooted characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon basis of the monarchy. When, after the Revolution of the Norman Conquest, a French and foreign hierarchy was substituted for the native prelates, one Saxon bishop alone remained — Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. A Council was summoned to Westminster, over which the Norman king and the Norman primate presided, and Wulfstan was declared incapable of holding his office because he could not speak French.¹ The old man, down to this moment compliant even to excess, was inspired with unusual energy. He walked from St. Catherine's Chapel² straight into the Abbey. The King and the prelates followed. He laid his pastoral staff on the Confessor's tomb before the high altar. First he spoke in Saxon to the dead King:

Connection
with the
English
Constitu-
tion.

Miracle of
Wulfstan's
crossier.

¹ M. Paris, 20; Ann. Burt., A. D. 1211; Knyghton, c. 2368 (Thierry, ii. 224).

² There, doubtless, the Council must have been held. See Chapter V.

'Edward, thou gavest me the staff; to thee I return it.' Then, with the few Norman words that he could command, he turned to the living King: 'A better than thou gave it to me — take it if thou canst.'¹ It remained fixed in the solid stone,² and Wulfstan was left at peace in his see. Long afterwards, King John, in arguing for the supremacy of the Crown of England in matters ecclesiastical, urged this story at length in answer to the claims of the Papal Legate. Pandulf answered, with a sneer, that John was more like the Conqueror than the Confessor.³ But, in fact, John had rightly discerned the principle at stake, and the legend expressed the deep-seated feeling of the English people, that in the English Crown and Law lies the true safeguard of the rights of the English clergy. Edward the Confessor's tomb thus, like the Abbey which incases it, contains an aspect of the complex union of Church and State of which all English history is a practical fulfilment.

In the earliest and nearly the only representation which exists of the Confessor's building — that in the Bayeux Tapestry — there is the figure of a man on the roof, with one hand resting on the tower of the Palace of Westminster, and with the other grasping the weathercock of the Abbey. The probable intention of this figure is to indicate the close contiguity of the two buildings. If so, it is the natural architectural expression of a truth valuable everywhere, but especially dear to Englishmen. The close incorporation of the Palace and the Abbey from its earliest days is a likeness of the whole English Constitution — a combination of

¹ Knyghton, c. 2368.

² Brompton, c. 976; M. Paris, 21; *Vit. Alb.* 3.

³ Ann. Burt. A. D. 1211.

things sacred and things common—a union of the regal, legal, lay element of the nation with its religious, clerical, ecclesiastical tendencies, such as can be found hardly elsewhere in Christendom. The Abbey is secular because it is sacred, and sacred because it is secular. It is secular in the common English sense, because it is ‘sæcular’ in the far higher French and Latin sense: a ‘sæcular’ edifice, a ‘sæcular’ institution—an edifice and an institution which has grown with the growth of ages, which has been furrowed with the scars and cares of each succeeding century.

A million wrinkles carve its skin;
A thousand winters snow'd upon its breast,
From cheek, and throat, and chin.

The vast political pageants of which it has been the theatre, the dust of the most worldly laid side by side with the dust of the most saintly, the wrangles of divines or statesmen which have disturbed its sacred peace, the clash of arms which has pursued fugitive warriors and princes into the shades of its sanctuary—even the traces of Westminster boys, who have played in its cloisters and inscribed their names on its walls—belong to the story of the Abbey no less than its venerable beauty, its solemn services, and its lofty aspirations. Go elsewhere for your smooth polished buildings, your purely ecclesiastical places of worship: go to the creations of yesterday—the modern basilica, the restored church, the nonconformist tabernacle. But it is this union of secular with ecclesiastical grandeur in Westminster Abbey which constitutes its special delight. It is this union which has made the Abbey the seat of the imperial throne, the sepulchre of kings and kinglike men, the home of the English nation,

where for the moment all Englishmen may forget their differences, and feel as one family gathered round the same Christmas hearth, finding underneath its roof, each, of whatever church or sect or party, echoes of some memories dear to himself alone — some dear to all alike — all blending with a manifold yet harmonious ‘voice from Heaven,’ which is as ‘the voice of many waters’ of ages past.

To draw out those memories will be the object of the following Chapters.



THE ABBEY, FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

THE CORONATIONS.

THE Queen sitting in King¹ Edward's Chair, the Archbishop, assisted with the same Archbishops and Bishops as before, comes from the Altar: the Dean of Westminster brings the Crown, and the Archbishop, taking it of him, reverently putteth it upon the Queen's head. At the sight whereof the people, with loud and repeated shouts, cry 'God save the Queen!' and the trumpets sound, and, by a signal given, the great guns at the Tower are shot off. As soon as the Queen is crowned, the Peers put on their coronets and caps. The acclamation ceasing, the Archbishop goeth on and saith: 'Be strong and of a good courage. Observe the commandments of God, and walk in his Holy ways. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life: that in this world you may be crowned with success and honour, and, when you have finished your course, receive a crown of righteousness, which God the righteous Judge shall give you in that day.' — (*Rubric of Coronation Service*, p. 40.)

¹ 'St. Edward's Chair' (in Charles II.'s Coronation); 'King Edward's Chair' (in James II.'s Coronation, and afterwards).

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

THE special authorities for each Coronation are contained in the various Chronicles of each reign. On the general ceremonial the chief works are —

1. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. iii.
2. Selden's *Titles of Honour*.
3. Martene's *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*.
4. The *Liber Regalis* of Richard II., in the custody of the Dean of Westminster.
5. Ogilvy's *Coronation of Charles II.*
6. Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*
7. Taylor's *Glory of Regality* (published for the Coronation of George IV.).
8. Chapters on Coronations (published for the Coronation of Queen Victoria).
9. The Coronation services from Edward VI. to the present time, preserved in the Lambeth Library.
10. MS. Records in the Heralds' College.

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATIONS.

THE Church of the Confessor was, as we have seen, the precursor of the Conquest. The first event in the Abbey of which there is any certain record, after the burial of the Confessor, is one which, like the Conquest, arose immediately out of that burial, and has affected its fortunes ever since. It was the Coronation of William the Conqueror.

No other coronation-rite in Europe reaches back to so early a period as that of the sovereigns of Britain. The inauguration of Aidan by Columba is the oldest in Christendom.¹ From the Anglo-Saxon order of the Coronation of Egbert² was derived the ancient form of the coronations of the Kings of France. Even the promise not 'to desert the throne of the Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians' was left unaltered in the inauguration of the Capetian Kings at Reims.³ But, in order to appreciate the historic importance of the English coronations, we must for a moment consider the original idea of the whole institution. Only in two countries does the rite of coronation retain

¹ A. D. 571. (Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, ii. 213.) It was performed by a benediction and imposition of hands — at the command, it was said, and under the lash of an angel, who appeared in a vision to Columba. (Reeves' *Adamnan*, 197-199.)

² Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. p. lxxvii. The form of the Coronation of Ethelred II. is given in Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 172.

³ See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, pp. 177, 189; Maskell, iii. p. xiv.

its full primitive savour. In Hungary, the Crown of St. Stephen still invests the sovereign with a national position ; and in Russia, the coronation of the Czars in the Kremlin at Moscow is an event rather than a ceremony. But this sentiment once pervaded the whole of mediæval Christendom, of which the history was, in fact, inaugurated through the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III., in the year 800. The rite represented the two opposite aspects of European monarchy. On the one hand, it was a continuation of the old German usage of popular election, and of its elective character. the pledge given by the sovereign to preserve the rights of his people — in part, perhaps, of the election of the Roman Emperors by the Imperial Guard.¹ Of this aspect two traces still remain : the recognition of the sovereign at the demand of the Archbishop, and the Coronation oath imposed as a guarantee of the popular and legal rights of the subjects. On the other hand, partly as a means of resisting the claims of the electors, it was a solemn consecration by the hands of an abbot² or a bishop. The unction with the gift of a crown, suggested doubtless by the ceremonies observed in the case of some of the Jewish kings,³ was unknown in the older Empire. It first began⁴

¹ The Earls Palatine in England wore the sword to show that they had authority to correct the King. (Holinshead, A. D. 1236.)

² The benediction of the Abbot rather than the Bishop prevailed in the Celtic tribes both of Ireland and Scotland. (See Reeves' *Adamnan*, 199.)

³ See *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, ii. 18, 48, 331, 397.

⁴ Charlemagne is described as having been anointed from head to foot. (Martene, ii. 204.) In like manner, in English history, on more than one occasion the King is described as having been stripped from the waist upwards, in the presence of the whole congregation, in order that the sacred oil might flow freely over his person. (Hoveden, A. D.

with Charlemagne.¹ The sacred oil was believed to convey to the sovereign a spiritual jurisdiction² and inalienable sanctity:

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king.

A white coif was left on his head seven days, to allow the oil to settle into its place, and was then solemnly taken off.³ This unction was believed to be the foundation of the title, reaching back to the days of King Ina, of 'Dei Gratia.'⁴ By its virtue every consecrated king was admitted a canon of some cathedral church.⁵ They were clothed for the moment in the garb of bishops.⁶ The 'Veni Creator Spiritus' was sung over them as over bishops. At first five sovereigns alone received the full consecration — the Emperor,⁷ and the Kings of France, England, Jerusalem, and Sicily. And, though this sacred circle was constantly enlarged by the ambition of the lesser princes, and at last included almost all, the older sovereigns long retained a kind of peculiar dignity.⁸

A King, therefore, without a coronation was regarded

1189. Roger of Wendover, *ibid.*; Grafton, *Cont. of Hardyng*, p. 517; Maskell, iii. p. xv.)

¹ Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 237.

² 33 Edward III. § 103.

³ Maskell, iii. p. xxi.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xiii.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. xvi.

⁶ Taylor, p. 81. ' . . . Lyke as a Bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyke and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bysshop. . . ' (Maskell, iii. p. liii., speaking of Henry VI.'s coronation.)

⁷ Taylor, p. 37.

⁸ What marks the more than ceremonial character of the act is the distinction drawn between the coronation of the actual sovereigns and their consorts. The Queens of France were crowned, not at Reims, but at St. Denys (Taylor, p. 50). Of the Queens-Consort of England, out of seventeen since the time of Henry VIII., only six have been crowned (Argument of the Attorney-General before the Privy Council, July 7, 1821, in the case of *Queen Caroline*). The Anglo-Saxon Queens were

almost as, by strict ecclesiologists, a bishop-elect would be regarded before his consecration, or a nonconformist minister without episcopal ordination.¹ Hence the political importance of the scenes which we shall have to describe. Hence the haste (the indecent haste, as it seems to modern feeling) with which the new king seized the crown, sometimes before the dead king was buried. Hence the appointment of the high state officer, who acted as viceroy between the demise of one sovereign and the inauguration of another, and whose duty it was, as it still is in form, to preside at the coronations — the Lord High *Steward*, the 'Steadward,' or 'Ward of the King's Stead or Place.' Hence the care with which the chroniclers note the good or evil omen of the exact day on which the coronation took place. Hence the sharp contests which raged between the ecclesiastics who claimed the right of sharing in the ceremony. Hence, lastly, the dignity of the place where the act was performed.

The traditionary spot of the first coronation of a British sovereign is worthy of the romantic legend The scene of which enshrines his name. Arthur was the English Coronations. crowned at Stonehenge,² which had been transported by Merlin for the purpose to Salisbury Plain from Naas in Leinster. Of the Saxon Kings, seven, from Edward the Elder to Ethelred (A. D. 900–971), were crowned on the King's Stone³ by the first

deprived of the right in the ninth century, by the crimes of Eadburga, but Judith, Queen of Ethelwulf, regained it. (Maaskell, iii. p. xxiv.)

¹ Many Bretons maintained that Louis Philippe, not having been crowned, had no more right to exercise the right of royalty than a priest not ordained could exercise the sacerdotal functions. (Renan, *Questions Contemporaines*, 434.)

² Rishanger, *Annals*, p. 425; *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Dist. ii. 18.

³ Still to be seen in the market-place of Kingston-on-Thames.

ford of the Thames. The Danish Hardicanute was believed to have been crowned at Oxford. But the selection of a church as the usual scene of the rite naturally followed from its religious character. A throng of bishops always attended. The celebration of the Communion always formed part of it.¹ The day, if possible, was Sunday, or some high festival.² The general seat of the Saxon coronations, accordingly, was the sanctuary of the House of Cerdic—the cathedral of Winchester. When they were crowned in London it was at St. Paul's. There at least was the coronation of Canute. It is doubtful whether Harold was crowned at St. Paul's³ or Westminster.⁴ From the urgent necessity of the crisis, the ceremony took place on the same day as the Confessor's funeral. All was haste and confusion. Stigand, the last Saxon primate, was present.⁵ But it would seem that Harold placed the crown on his own head.⁶

1. The coronation of Duke William in the Abbey is, however, undoubted. Whether the right of the Abbey to the coronation of the sovereigns entered into the Confessor's designs depends on the genuineness of his Charters. But, in any case, William's selection of this spot for the most important

Coronation
of William
the Con-
queror.

¹ Maskell, iii. p. xxxix. —The breaking of the fast, immediately after the Communion, was in the retiring-place by St. Edward's Shrine in the Abbey. (Ibid. p. lvi.)

² *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. lxiv. 'A Peace of God' succeeded for eight days. (Ibid. p. lxvi.)

³ Brompton, c. 958; Rishanger's *Annals*, p. 427. William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Pont.* ii. 1) implies that the Conqueror's coronation was the first that took place in the Abbey.

⁴ *Relatio de Origine Will. Conq.* p. 4. (Giles, *Script. Rer. Gest. Will. Conq.* 1845.)

⁵ Bayeux Tapestry.

⁶ Brompton, c. 958; Rishanger's *Annals*, p. 427; Matthew of Westminster, p. 221.

act of his life sprang directly from regard to the Confessor's memory. To be crowned beside the grave of the last hereditary Saxon king, was the direct fulfilment of the whole plan of the Conqueror, or 'Conquestor;' that is, the inheritor,¹ not by victory but by right, of the throne of 'his predecessor King Edward.'²

The time was to be Christmas Day³ — doubtless because on that high festival, as on the other two of Easter
 Monday, and Whitsuntide, the Anglo-Saxon kings had
 Dec. 25, appeared in state, re-enacting, as it were, their
 1066. original coronations.

'Two nations were indeed in the womb' of the Abbey on that day. Within the massive freshly-erected walls was the Saxon populace of London, intermixed with the retainers of the Norman camp and court. Outside sate the Norman soldiers on their war-horses, eagerly watching for any disturbance in the interior. The royal workmen had been sent into London a few days before, to construct the mighty fortress of the Tower, which henceforth was to overawe the city.⁴ Before the high altar, standing on the very gravestone of Edward, was the fierce, huge, unwieldy William, the exact contrast of the sensitive transparent King who lay beneath his feet. On either side stood an Anglo-Saxon and a Norman prelate. The Norman was Godfrey, Bishop of Coutances; the Saxon was Aldred, Archbishop of York, holding in his own hand the golden crown, of Byzantine workmanship, wrought by Guy of Amiens. Stigand of Canterbury, the natural depository

¹ The Bayeux Tapestry is devoted to the proof of this right.

² Charter of Battle Abbey.

³ Midwinter Day. (Raine's *Archbishops of York*, i. 144.) It was also the day of Charlemagne's coronation.

⁴ William of Poitiers, A. D. 1066.

of the rite of Coronation, had fled to Scotland. Aldred, with that worldly prudence which characterised his career, was there, making the most of the new opportunity, and thus established over William an influence which no other ecclesiastic of the time, not even Hildebrand, was able to gain.¹ The moment arrived for the ancient form of popular election. The Norman prelate was to address in French those who could not speak English; the Saxon primate was to address in English those who could not speak French. A confused acclamation arose from the mixed multitude. The Norman cavalry without, hearing but not understanding this peculiarity of the Saxon institution, took alarm, and set fire to the gates of the Abbey, and perhaps the thatched dwellings which surrounded it.² The crowd — nobles and poor, men and women — alarmed in their turn, rushed out. The prelates and monks were left alone with William in the church, and in the solitude of that wintry day, amidst the cries of his new subjects, trampled down by the horses' hoofs of their conquerors, he himself, for the first time in his life, trembling from head to foot, the remainder of the ceremony was hurried on. Aldred, in the name of the Saxons, exacted from him the oath to protect them before he would put the crown on his head.³ Thus ended

¹ See Chapter I. — An instance of this occurred in the Abbey a few years later. Aldred came up to London to remonstrate with William for a plundering expedition in Yorkshire. He found the King in the Abbey, and attacked him publicly. The King fell at his feet, trembling. The officers of the court tried to push the Archbishop away, but he persisted, and would not leave the place without a full apology. (Stubbs, c. 1703-4; Brompton, c. 962.) See also, for a different account, William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont.* p. 271.

² *Ord. Vit.* A. D. 1065; William of Malmesbury, p. 184; Palgrave's *Normandy*, iii. 379.

³ *Saxon Chronicle* (A. D. 1066.)

the first undoubted Westminster coronation. William kept up the remembrance of it, according to the Saxon custom, by a yearly solemn appearance, with the crown on his head, at the chief festivals. But, perhaps from the recollection of this disastrous beginning, the Christmas coronation was not at Westminster, but at Worcester; Easter was still celebrated at the old Saxon capital of Winchester; and Whitsuntide only was observed in London, but whether at St. Paul's or the Abbey is not stated.¹

From this time forward the ceremony of the coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey. Its connection with the grave of the Confessor was long preserved, even in its minutest forms. The regalia were strictly Anglo-Saxon, by their traditional names: the crown of Alfred or of St. Edward for the King,² the crown of Edith, wife of the Confessor, for the Queen. The sceptre with the dove was the reminiscence of Edward's peaceful days after the expulsion of the Danes. The gloves were a perpetual reminder of his abolition of the Danegelt—a token that the King's hands should be moderate in taking taxes.³ The ring with which as the Doge to the Adriatic, so the king to his people was wedded, was the ring of the pilgrim.⁴ The Coronation robe of Edward was solemnly exhibited in the Abbey twice a year, at Christmas and on the festival of its patron saints,⁵ St. Peter and St. Paul. The 'great stone chalice,' which was borne by the Chancellor to

The connection of the Coronations with the Abbey.

The Regalia, as connected with the Confessor.

¹ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 259).

² Spelman's *History of Alfred*. (Planché's *Regal Records*, p. 64.)

³ The 'orb' appears in the Bayeux Tapestry.

⁴ Planché, p. 85; Mill's *Catalogue of Honours*, p. 86; Fuller, ii. §§ 16, 26.

⁵ Ware's *Consuetudines*.

the altar, and out of which the Abbot of Westminster administered the sacramental wine, was believed to have been prized at a high sum 'in Saint Edward's days.'¹ If after the anointing the King's hair was not smooth, there was 'King Edward's ivory comb for that end.'² The form of the oath, retained till the time of James II., was to observe 'the laws of the glorious Confessor.'³ A copy of the Gospels, purporting to have belonged to Athelstane, was the book which was handed down as that on which, for centuries, the coronation-oath had been taken.⁴ On the arras hung round the choir, at least from the thirteenth century, was the representation of the ceremony,⁵ with words which remind us of the analogous inscription in St. John Lateran, expressive of the peculiar privileges of the place —

Hanc regum sedem, ubi Petrus consecrat ædem,
Quam tu, Papa, regis ;⁶ inungit et unctio regis.

The Church of Westminster was called, in consequence, 'the head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom.'⁷

The Regalia were kept in the Treasury of Westminster entirely till the time of Henry VIII., and the larger part till the time of the Commonwealth, when (in 1642) they were broken to pieces.⁸ But the new Regalia, after the Restoration, were still called by the same names ; and, though permanently kept in the Tower, are still, by a shadowy connection with the past, placed under the custody of the Dean before each coronation.

¹ Maskell, iii. p. lxx.

² State Papers, Feb. 2, 1625-26.

³ Taylor, 85.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 471.

⁵ Weever, p. 45.

⁶ Alluding to its exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of London. See Chapter V.

⁷ *Liber Regalis* ; Maskell, iii. p. xlvii.

⁸ Taylor, p. 94 ; see Chapters V. and VI.

The Abbot of Westminster was the authorised instructor to prepare each new King for the solemnities of the coronation as if for confirmation; visiting him two days before, to inform him of the observances, and to warn him to shrive and cleanse his conscience before the holy anointing.¹ If he was ill, the Prior (as now the Subdean) took his place.² He also was charged with the singular office of administering the chalice to the King and Queen, as a sign of their conjugal unity, after their reception of the sacrament from the Archbishop.³ The Convent on that day was to be provided, at the royal expense, with '100 simnals (that is, cakes) of the best bread, a gallon of wine, and as many fish as become the royal dignity.'

These privileges have, so far as altered times allow, descended to the Protestant Deans. The Dean and Canons of Westminster, alone of the clergy of England, stand by the side of the Prelates. On them, and not on the Bishops, devolves the duty, if such there be, of consecrating the sacred oil.⁴ The Dean has still the charge of the '*Liber Regalis*,' containing the ancient Order of the Service. It is still his duty to direct the sovereign in the details of the Service. Even the assent of the people of England to the election of the sovereign has found its voice, in modern days, through the shouts of the Westminster scholars, from their recognised seats in the Abbey.⁵

¹ Taylor, p. 134; *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, p. lxvi.

² *Liber Regalis*.

³ *Ibid.*; Maskell, iii. p. xlv.

⁴ Maskell, iii. p. xxii. See Sanford's account of the Coronation of James II. p. 91. In Charles I.'s time the King's physicians prepared it; and Laud (who was at that time Bishop of St. David's as well as Prebendary of Westminster) 'hollowed' it on the high altar. (State Papers, Feb. 2, 1625-6.)

⁵ Sanford's *James II.*, p. 83; Maskell, iii. pp. xlvii., xlviii.

If by the circumstances of the Conqueror's accession the Abbey was selected as the perpetual place of the coronations, so by the same circumstances it became subject to the one intrusion into its peculiar privileges. It was now that the ecclesiastical minister of the coronation was permanently fixed. Neither the Abbot of Westminster nor (as might have been expected from his share in the first coronation) the Archbishop of York could maintain his ground against the overwhelming influence of the first Norman primate. Lanfranc pointed out to William, that if the Archbishops of York were allowed to confer the crown, they might be tempted to give it to some Scot or Dane, elected by the rebel Saxons of the north;¹ and that to avoid this danger, they should be forever excluded from the privilege which belonged to Canterbury only. In the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the privilege was to belong, not to York, but to London.² From that time, accordingly, with three exceptions, the Primate of Canterbury has been always the chief ecclesiastic at the coronations.³ On that occasion, only, these prelates take their places, as by right, in the Choir of the Abbey; and the Archbishop of York has been obliged to remain content

The right
of the Arch-
bishops of
Canterbury.

¹ Eadmer, c. 3; Lanfranc, 306, 378; Stubbs, c. 1706 (Thierry, ii. 145); Hugh Sotevagine (Raine, i. 147).

² Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 248).

³ But by 1 W. and M. c. 6, it is now enacted 'that the coronation may be performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, or either of them, or any other bishop whom the King's Majesty shall appoint.' The claim of the Archbishop of Canterbury to marry royal personages rests on the theory that the Kings and Queens are always *parishioners* of the see of Canterbury: hence the protest of the nobles against the claim of the Bishop of Salisbury to marry Henry I., on the ground that the castle of Windsor was in the diocese of Salisbury. (Maskell, iii. p. lxii.)

with the inferior and accidental office of crowning the Queen-Consort, which had been performed by Aldred for Queen Matilda two years after the Conqueror's coronation.¹

Coronation
of Matilda,
Whitsun-
day, May
11, 1067.

2. The arrangement of Lanfranc immediately came into operation. William Rufus — whose fancy for

Coronation
of William
Rufus,
Sunday,
September
26, 1087.

Westminster manifested itself in the magnificent Hall, which was to be but as a bed-chamber to the 'New Palace' meditated by him in the future² — naturally followed the precedent of his father's coronation in the Abbey; and as the Norman Godfrey and the Saxon Aldred had lent their joint sanction to the Conqueror's coronation, so his own was inaugurated by the presence of the first Norman primate, with the one remaining Saxon bishop Wulfstan.³

3. The coronation of Henry I. illustrates the importance attached to the act. He lost not a moment. Within four days of his brother's death in the New Forest, he was in Westminster Abbey, claiming the election of the nobles and the consecration of the prelates.⁴ 'At that time the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a king's coronation than the long preparing of gay clothes. Such prepara-

Coronation
of Henry I.

Aug. 5,
1100.
Eleventh
Sunday af-
ter Trinity.
Feast of St.
Oswald.⁵

¹ Raine, i. 144; Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1067.

² Lainè (*Archives de la Noblesse de France*, v. 57) says Turlogh O'Brian, King of Ireland, presented William Rufus with Irish oak for the roof of the Abbey of Westminster. But this is probably a confusion for the *Palace* of Westminster. (See Mac Geogham's *Histoire d'Irlande*, i. 426.) The oak is from the oak woods of Shillela, which stood till 1760. (Young's *Travels in Ireland*, i. 125.)

³ Rudbourne (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 263).

⁴ Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1100; Florence of Worcester, ii. 46; Malmesbury, v.; Brompton, c. 997.

⁵ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 688.

tory pomp as was used in after-ages for the ceremony was now conceived not only useless but dangerous, speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the throne.' ¹ Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was absent; and here, therefore, Lanfranc's provision was adopted, and Maurice, Bishop of London, acted in his stead. Thomas, Archbishop of York, who had made a desperate effort to recover the lost privileges of his see at Anselm's consecration, was at Ripon when the tidings of William's death reached him. He, like Henry, but for a different reason, hurried up to London. But Winchester was nearer than Ripon, and the King was already crowned.² The disappointment of the northern Primate was met by various palliatives. The King and the prelates pleaded haste. Some of the chroniclers represent that he joined in the ceremony, giving the crown after Maurice had given the unction.³ But in fact the privilege was gone.

The compact between Henry and the electors was more marked than in any previous Norman coronation. He promised everything, except the one thing which he declared that he could not do, namely, to give up the forests of game which he had received from his father.⁴ A yet more important coronation than his own, in the eyes of the Saxon population, was that of his wife Matilda. 'Never since the Battle of Hastings had there been such a joyous day as when Queen Maude, the descendant of Alfred, was crowned in the

¹ Fuller, iii. 1, § 41.

² Hugh the Cantor. (Raine, i. 153.)

³ Rudbourn (Anglia Sacra, i. 273); Diceto, c. 498; *Chronicle of Peterborough* (Giles), p. 69; Walsingham (*Hypodigma Neustrie*, p. 443). Raine, *Ordericus Vitalis* (book x. i. 153), accounts for his absence by supposing him to have died before.

⁴ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 730.

Abbey and feasted in the Great Hall.'¹ The ceremony was performed, according to some,² by Anselm; according to others, by Gerard,³ at that time Bishop of Hereford, but on the very eve of mounting the throne of York. Either from his timely presence at the coronation of Henry, or from a confusion with this coronation, he was believed to have crowned the King himself, and as a reward for his services to have claimed the next archbishopric. When the vacancy occurred at the end of the year, Henry tried, it was said, to buy him off by offering to make the income of Hereford equal to that of the Primates, and its rank to that of Durham. But Gerard held the King to his word, and became the rival — often the successful rival — of Anselm.⁴

4. Stephen, in securing 'the regalising and legalising virtue of the crown,'⁵ was, from the necessities of his position, hardly less precipitate than his predecessor. Henry I. died, of his supper of lampreys, on December 1; and whilst he still lay unburied in France, Stephen — with the devotion to favorite days then so common — chose December 26, the feast of his own saint, Stephen, for the day of the ceremony. The prelates approved the act; the Pope went out of his way to sanction it.⁶ But the coronation teemed with omens of the misfortunes which thickened round the unhappy King. It was observed that the Archbishop, whose consent was

Coronation
of Maude,
St. Martin's
Day, Nov.
10, 1100.

Coronation
of Stephen,
St. Stephen's
Day,
Dec. 26,
1135.

¹ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 719–722; see Chapter III.

² Symeon (c. 226).

³ *Orderic. Vit.* book x.

⁴ Raine, i. 159, 160.

⁵ I owe this expression to a striking description of this incident in an unpublished letter of Professor Vaughan.

⁶ Thierry ii. 393, 394.

directly in defiance of his oath to Maude,¹ died within the year, and that the magnates who assisted all perished miserably.² It was remarked that the Host given at the Communion suddenly disappeared,³ and that the customary kiss of peace was forgotten.⁴

5. The coronation of Henry II. was the first peaceful inauguration of a King that the Abbey had witnessed. In it the Saxon population saw the fulfilment of the Confessor's prophecy, and the Normans rejoiced in the termination of their own civil war. Theobald of Canterbury presided, but with the assistance of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Archbishop of York, who was a personal friend of Theobald.⁵ It was a momentary union of the two rival sees, soon to be broken by blows, and curses, and blood, — of which the next coronation in the Abbey was the ill-fated beginning.

The King in his later years, determined to secure the succession, by providing that his eldest son Henry should be crowned during his lifetime. In his own case the ceremony of consecration had been repeated several times.⁶ The coronation took place in the Abbey, during the height of the King's quarrel with Becket. Accordingly, as the Primate of Canterbury was necessarily absent, the Primate of York took his place. It was the same Roger of Bishopsbridge who had assisted at Henry's own inauguration. To fortify him in his precarious posi-

Coronation
of Henry II.
Dec. 19,
1154.

And of his
son Henry,
June 14,
1170.

¹ *Gesta Stephani*, p. 7. See the whole case in Hook's *Archbishops*, ii. 318.

² Rudbourne (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 284).

³ Knyghton, c. 2384; Brompton, c. 1023.

⁴ Gervas, c. 1340; Hoveden, 481.

⁵ Raine, i. 234.

⁶ Maskell, iii. pp. xviii., xix.

tion, the Bishops of London, Durham, Salisbury, and Rochester were also present;¹ and the young Prince who was crowned by them rose, under the name of Henry III.,² at once to the full pride of an actual sovereign. When his father appeared behind him at the coronation banquet, the Prince remarked, 'The son of an Earl may well wait on the son of a King!' His wife, the French princess, was afterwards crowned with him at Winchester, by French bishops.³

Perhaps no event — certainly no coronation — in Westminster Abbey ever led to more disastrous consequences. 'Ex hac consecratione, potius execratione, provenerunt, detestandi eventus.'⁴ — 'From this consecration, say rather execration,' followed directly the anathema of Becket on the three chief prelates, the invaders of the inalienable prerogative of the see of Canterbury, and, as the result of that anathema, the murder of Becket, by the rude avengers of the rights of the see of York; indirectly, the strong reaction in favour of the clerical party; and, according to popular belief, the untimely death of the young Prince Henry himself, the tragical quarrels of his brothers, and the unhappy end of his father.

6. With the coronation of Richard I. we have the first detailed account of the ceremonial, as continued to be celebrated: the procession from the Palace

Coronation
of Richard I. to the Abbey — the spurs, the swords, the sceptre — the Bishops of Durham and Bath (then first mentioned in this capacity) supporting the King on the

¹ Benedict, A. D. 1170.

² See *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 63. Richard of Devizes (i. § 1) calls Richard I. brother of *Henry III.*

³ Taylor, 247.

⁴ *Annals of Margan*, p. 16 (A. D. 1170). *Memorials of Canterbury*, c. 2.

right and left—the oath—the anointing, for which he was stripped to his shirt and drawers¹—the crown, taken by the King himself from the altar, and given to the Archbishop. There was an unusual array of magnates. The King's mother and his brother John were present, and the primate was assisted by the Archbishops of Rouen, Tours, and Dublin: the Archbishop of York was absent.²

The day was, however, marked by disasters highly characteristic of the age. It was on September 3, a day fraught with associations fatal to the English monarchy in a later age, but already ^{Sept 3,} 1189, at this time marked by astrologers as ill-omened, or what was called 'an Egyptian day.'³ Much alarm was caused during the ceremony by the appearance of a bat, 'in the middle and bright part of the day,' fluttering through the church, 'inconveniently circling in the same tracks, and especially round the King's throne.' Another evil augury, 'hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper,' was the peal of bells at the last hour of the day, without any agreement or knowledge of the ministers of the Abbey.⁴

But the most serious portent must be told in the dreadful language of the chronicler himself: 'On that solemn hour in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their ^{The Jews.} father the devil was commenced in the City of London; and so long was the duration of the famous mystery, that the holocaust could hardly be accomplished on the ensuing day.'⁵ It seems that on previous coronations

¹ Benedict, A. D. 1189.

² Hoveden, A. D. 1189.

³ Ibid. There were two such in each month, supposed to be proscribed by the Egyptians as unwholesome for bleeding.

⁴ Richard of Devizes, A. D. 1189.

⁵ Ibid.

the Jews of London had penetrated into the Abbey and Palace to witness the pageant. The King and the more orthodox nobles were apprehensive that they came there to exercise a baleful influence by their enchantments. In consequence, a royal proclamation the day before expressly forbade the intrusion of Jews or witches into the royal presence. They were kept out of the Abbey, but their curiosity to see the banquet overcame their prudence. Some of their chief men were discovered. The nobles, in rage or terror, flew upon them, stripped off their clothes, and beat them almost to death. Two curious stories were circulated, one by the Christians, another by the Jews. It was said that one of the Jews, Benedict¹ of York, to save his life, was baptized 'William,' after a godfather invited for the occasion, the Prior of St. Mary's, in his native city of York. The next day he was examined by the King as to the reality of his conversion, and had the courage to confess that it was by mere compulsion. The King turned to the prelates who were standing by, and asked what was to be done with him. The Archbishop, 'less discreetly than he ought,' replied, 'If he does not wish to be a man of God, let him remain a man of the devil.'² The Jewish story is not less characteristic. The King in the banquet had asked, 'What is this noise to-day?' The doorkeeper answered, 'Nothing; only the boys rejoice and are merry at heart.' When the true state of the case was known, the doorkeeper was dragged to death at the tails of horses. 'Blessed be God, who giveth vengeance! Amen.'³ But, however the King's own temper might

¹ Probably 'Baruch.'

² Benedict, A. D. 1189.

³ The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph (Bialloblotzky, i. 196, 197). Chapters on Coronations, 148.

have been softened, a general massacre and plunder amongst the Jewish houses took place in London, 'and the other cities and towns' (especially York) 'emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion despatched their bloodsuckers with blood to hell. Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin. It never did anything over-speedily. Fearing nothing more than to repent, it considers the result of everything beforehand, temperately concealing its uneasiness, till it shall be possible at a convenient time to cast out the whole cause of the disease at once and for ever.'¹ Such was the coronation of the most chivalrous of English Kings. So truly did Sir Walter Scott catch the whole spirit of the age in his description of Front de Bœuf's interview with Isaac of York. Such could be the Christianity, and such the Judaism, of the Middle Ages.

On his return from his captivity, Richard was crowned again at Winchester, as if to reassure his subjects. This was the last trace of the old Saxon regal character of Winchester.² He submitted very reluctantly to this repetition;³ but the reinvestiture in the coronation robes was considered so important, that in these he was ultimately buried.

7. John was crowned on Ascension Day⁴ — the same fatal festival as that which the soothsayer afterwards predicted as the end of his reign. On this occasion, in order to exclude the rights of Arthur, the son of John's eldest brother Godfrey, the elective, as distinct from the hereditary, character of

¹ Richard of Devizes, A. D. 1189.

² M. Paris, 176. See Chapter III.

³ Ibid., A. D. 1194.

⁴ Hoveden, 793.

the monarchy was brought out in the strongest terms.

Ascension Day, May 27, 1199. At a later period Archbishop Hubert gave as his reason for scrupulously adopting all the forms of election on that day, that, foreseeing the King's violent career, he had wished to place every lawful check on his despotic passions.¹ Geoffrey, the Archbishop of York, was absent, and, on his behalf, the Bishop of Durham² protested, but in vain, against Hubert's sole celebration of the ceremony.³

A peculiar function was now added. As a reward for the readiness with which the Cinque Ports had assisted John, in his unfortunate voyages to and from Normandy, their five Barons were allowed henceforward to carry the canopy over the King as he went to the Abbey, and to hold it over him when he was unclothed for the sacred unction. They had already established their place at the right hand of the King at the banquet, as a return for their successful guardianship of the Channel against invaders; the Conqueror alone had escaped them.⁴

8. The disastrous reign of John brought out the sole instance, if it be an instance, of a coronation apart from Westminster. On Henry III.'s accession the Abbey was in the hands of Prince Louis of France, Shakspeare's 'Dauphin.' He was, accordingly, crowned in the Abbey of Gloucester, by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of Gualo the Legate; but without unction or imposition of hands, lest the rights of Canterbury should be

First Coronation of Henry III. St. Simon and St. Jude, Oct. 28, 1216.

¹ M. Paris, 197.

² Hoveden, 793; Maskell, iii. p. lviii.

³ He was afterwards crowned at Canterbury with his Queen, Isabella. (Hoveden, 818; *Ann. Margan*, A. D. 1201.)

⁴ Ridgway, p. 141.

infringed, and with a chaplet or garland rather than a crown.¹ At the same time, with that inconsistency which pervades the history of so many of our legal ceremonies, an edict was issued that for a whole month no lay person, male or female, should appear in public without a chaplet, in order to certify that the King was really crowned.² So strong, however, was the craving for the complete formalities of the inauguration, that, as soon as Westminster was restored to the King, he was again crowned there in state, on Whitsunday, by Stephen Langton,³ having the day before laid the foundation of the new Lady Chapel,⁴ the germ of the present magnificent church. The feasting and joviality was such that the oldest man present could remember nothing like it at any previous coronation.⁵ It was a kind of triumphal close to the dark reign of John. The young King himself, impressed probably by his double coronation, asked the great theologian of that time, Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, the difficult question, 'What was the precise grace wrought in a King by the unction?' The bishop answered, with some hesitation, that it was the sign of the King's special reception of the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, 'as in Confirmation.'⁶

Second Coronation of Henry III. Whitsunday, May 17, 1220.

One alteration Henry III. effected for future coro-

¹ Possibly this might be from John's crown having been lost in the Wash. (Pauli, i. 489.)

² Capgrave's *Henries*, p. 87. — Henry IV. of France, in like manner, was crowned at Chartres, instead of Reims, from the occupation of that city by the opposite faction.

³ See Hook's *Archbishops*, ii. 735.

⁴ See Chapter III.

⁵ Bouquet. *Rer. Gallic. Script.* xviii. 186.

⁶ *Epistolæ*, § 124, p. 350 (ed. Luard). He adds a caution, founded on Judah's concession in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, that it did not equal the royal to the sacerdotal dignity.

nations, which implies a slight declension of the sense of their importance. The office of Lord High Steward (the temporary Viceroy between the late King's demise and the new King's inauguration), which had been hereditary in the house of Simon de Montfort, was on his death abolished — partly, perhaps, from a dislike of De Montfort's encroachments, partly to check the power of so formidable a potentate. Henceforward the office was merely created for the occasion. The coronation of his Queen Eleanor of Provence was observed with great state.¹ But a curious incident marred the splendour of the coronation banquet. Its presiding officer, the hereditary Chief Butler, Hugh de Albini, was absent, having been excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for refusing to let the Primate hunt in his Sussex forest.²

9. The long interval between the accession of Edward I. and his coronation (owing to his absence in the Holy Land) reduced it more nearly to the level of a mere ceremony than it had ever been before. He was also the first sovereign who discontinued the commemoration of the event in wearing the crown in state at the three festivals.³ But in itself it was a peculiarly welcome day, as the return from his perilous journey. It was the first coronation in the Abbey as it now appears,

¹ Matthew Paris, 350.

² 'De officio pincernarise servivit ea die Comes Warenn' vice Hugonis de Albiniaco Comitis de Arundel ad quem [nunc] illud officium spectat. Fuit autem idem . . . eo tempore sententia excommunicationis innodatus a Cant' eo quod cum fugare fecisset Archiepiscopus in foresta dicti Hugonis in Suthsex idem Hugo canes suos cepit. Dicit autem Archiepiscopus hoc esse jus suum fugandi in quolibet foresta Anglie quandocunque voluerit.' Red Book of the Exchequer (f. 232). He was under age. Matthew Paris (p. 421).

³ Camden's *Remains*, 338

bearing the fresh marks of his father's munificence. He and his beloved Eleanor appeared together, the first King and Queen who had been jointly crowned. His mother, the elder Eleanor, was present. Archbishop Kilwarby officiated as Primate.² On the following day Alexander III. of Scotland, whose armorial bearings were hung in the Choir of the Abbey, did homage.³ For the honour of so martial a king, 500 great horses — on some of which Edward and his brother Edmund, with their attendants, had ridden to the banquet — were let loose among the crowd, any one to take them for his own as he could.⁴

There was, however, another change effected in the coronations by Edward, which, unlike most of the incidents related in this chapter, has a direct bearing on the Abbey itself. Besides the ceremonies of unction and coronation, which properly belonged to the consecration of the kings, there was one more closely connected with the original practice of election — that of raising the sovereign aloft into an elevated seat.⁵ In the Frankish tribes, as also in the Roman Empire, this was done by a band of warriors lifting the chosen chief on their shields, of which a trace lingered in the French coronations, in raising the King to the top of the screen between the choir and nave. But the more ordinary usage, amongst the Gothic and Celtic races, was to place him on a huge natural stone, which had been, or was henceforth, invested with a magical sanctity. On such a stone, the 'great stone' (*morasten*), still visible on the grave of

Coronation
of Edward I.
and Eleanor,
Aug. 19,¹
1274.

The Coro-
nation
Stone.

The Instal-
lation of the
Kings.

¹ Close Roll, 2 Edw. I. m. 5.

² Hook, iii. 311.

³ Trivet, p. 292. See Chapter III.

⁴ Stow's *Annals*; Knyghton, c. 2461. (Pauli, ii. 12.)

⁵ So *Liber Regalis*. See Maskell, iii. p. xlviii.

Odin near Upsala, were inaugurated the Kings of Sweden till the time of Gustavus Vasa. Such a chair and stone, for the Dukes of Carinthia, is still to be seen at Zollfell.¹ Seven stone seats for the Emperor and his Electors mark the spot where the Lahn joins the Rhine at Lahnstein. On such a mound the King of Hungary appears, sword in hand, at Presburg or Pesth. On such stones decrees were issued in the republican states of Torcello, Venice, and Verona. On a stone like these, nearer home, was placed the Lord of the Isles. The stones on which the Kings of Ireland were crowned were, even down to Elizabeth's time, believed to be the inviolable pledges of Irish independence. One such remains near Derry, marked with the two cavities in which the feet of the King of Ulster were placed;² another in Monaghan, called the M'Mahon Stone, where the impression of the foot remained till 1809.³ On the King's Stone, as we have seen, beside the Thames, were crowned seven of the Anglo-Saxon kings. And in Westminster itself, by a usage doubtless dating back from a very early period, the Kings, before they passed from the Palace to the Abbey, were lifted to a marble seat, twelve feet long and three feet broad, placed at the upper end of Westminster Hall, and called, from this peculiar dignity, '*The King's Bench*.'⁴

Still there was yet wanting something of this mysterious natural charm in the Abbey itself, and this it

¹ Gilbert and Churchill's *Dolomite Mountains*, p. 483.

² It is now called St Columb's Stone. The marks of the feet are, according to the legend, imprinted by Columba. But Spenser's statement of the Irish practice (See *Ordinance Survey of Londonderry*, p. 233) leaves no doubt as to their origin.

³ See Shirley's *Farney*, p. 74.

⁴ Taylor, p. 303. — It is mentioned at the coronations of Richard II. and Richard III. (Maskell, iii. pp. xlviii. xlix.)

was which Edward I. provided. In the capital of the Scottish kingdom was a venerable fragment of rock, to which, at least as early as the fourteenth century, the following legend was attached: — Legend of the Stone of Scone. The stony pillar on which Jacob¹ slept at Bethel was by his countrymen transported to Egypt. Thither came Gathelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens, and married



THE CORONATION STONE.

Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. He and his Egyptian wife, alarmed at the fame of Moses, fled with the stone to Sicily or to Spain. From Brigantia, in Spain, it was carried off by Simon Brech,² the favourite son of Milo the Scot, to Ireland. It was thrown on the seashore as an anchor; or (for the legend varied at this point) an anchor which was cast out, in consequence of a rising storm, pulled up the stone from the bottom of the sea. On the sacred Hill of Tara it became 'Lia Fail,' the

¹ Or Abraham. (*Rye's Visits of Foreigners*, p. 10.) For the belief still maintained that the coronation stone is Jacob's pillow, see *Jewish Chronicle*, June 14, 21, 1872; and an elaborate oration by the Rev. R. Glover.

² Holinshed, *The Historie of Scotland* (1585), p. 31. Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 239.

'Stone of Destiny.' On it the Kings of Ireland were placed. If the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent; if a pretender, it groaned aloud as with thunder.¹ At this point, where the legend begins to pass into history, the voice of national discord begins to make itself heard. The Irish antiquarians maintain that the true stone long remained on the Hill of Tara. One of the green mounds within that venerable precinct is called the 'Coronation Chair;' and a rude pillar, now serving as a monument over the graves of the rebels of 1798, is by some² thought to be the original 'Lia Fail.' But the stream of the Scottish tradition carries us on. Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, bears the sacred stone across the sea from Ireland to Dunstaffnage. In the vaults of Dunstaffnage Castle a hole is still shown, where it is said to have been laid. With the migration of the Scots eastward, the stone was moved by Kenneth II. (A. D. 840), and planted on a raised plot of ground at Scone, 'because that the last battle with the Picts was there fought.'³

Whatever may have been the previous wanderings of the relic, at Scone it assumes an unquestionable historical position. It was there encased in a
 its history. chair of wood, and stood by a cross on the east of the monastic cemetery, on or beside the 'Mount of Belief,' which still exists. In it, or upon it, the Kings of Scotland were placed by the Earls of Fife. From it

¹ Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland* (Harris), 1764, i. 10, 124. — Compare the Llechlafar, or Speaking Stone, in the stream in front of the Cathedral of St. David's. (Jones' and Freeman's *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, p. 222.)

² Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara* (*Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, xviii. pt. 2, pp. 159–161). The name of Fergus is still attached to it.

³ Holinshed's *Hist. Scot.* p. 132.

Scone became the 'Sedes principalis' of Scotland, and the kingdom of Scotland the kingdom of Scone; and hence for many generations Perth, and not Edinburgh, was regarded as the capital city of Scotland.¹

Wherever else it may have strayed, there need be no question, at least, of its Scottish origin. Its geological formation is that of the sandstone of the western coasts of Scotland.² It has the appearance — thus far agreeing with the tradition of Dunstaffnage — of having once formed part of a building. But of all explanations concerning it, the most probable is that which identifies it with the stony pillow on which Columba rested, and on which his dying head was laid in his Abbey of Iona;³ and if so it belongs to the minister of the first authentic Western consecration of a Christian Prince⁴ — that of the Scottish chief Aidan.

On this precious relic Edward fixed his hold. He had already hung up before the Confessor's Shrine the golden coronet of the last Prince of Wales. It was a still further glory to deposit there the ^{its capture.} very seat of the kingdom of Scotland. On it he himself was crowned King of the Scots.⁵ From the Pope he procured a bull to raze to the ground the rebellious Abbey of Scone, which had once possessed it; and his design was only prevented, as Scotland itself was saved,

¹ The facts respecting Scone and the Scottish coronations I owe to the valuable information of the late lamented Mr. Joseph Robertson of Edinburgh. See Appendix to Chapter II., and Preface to *Statuta Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, p. xxi.

² This is the result of a careful examination by Professor Ramsay in 1865.

³ For the argument by which this is supported, I must refer to Mr. Robertson's statement. (Appendix.)

⁴ See p. 49.

⁵ *The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace* (Blind Harry), Aberdeen, 1630, p. 5.

by his sudden death at Brough-on-the-Sands. Westminster was to be an English Scone. It was his latest care for the Abbey. In that last year of Edward's reign, the venerable chair, which still encloses it, was made for it by the orders of its captor; the fragment of the world-old Celtic races was embedded in the new Plantagenet oak.¹ The King had originally intended the seat to have been of bronze, and the workman, Adam, had actually begun it. But it was ultimately constructed of wood, and decorated by Walter the painter, who at the same time was employed on the Painted Chamber, and probably on the Chapter House.

The elation of the English King may be measured by the anguish of the Scots. Now that this foundation of their monarchy was gone, they laboured with redoubled energy to procure, what they had never had before, a full religious consecration of their Kings. This was granted to Robert the Bruce, by the Pope, a short time before his death; and his son David, to make up for the loss of the stone, was the first crowned and anointed King of Scotland.² But they still cherished the hope of recovering it. A solemn article in the Treaty of Northampton, which closed the long war between the two countries, required the restoration

A. D. 1328,
July 21. of the lost relics to Scotland. Accordingly Richard III., then residing at Bardesly, directed his writ, under the Privy Seal, to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, commanding them to give the stone for this purpose to the Sheriffs of London, who would receive the same from them by indenture,³ and cause it to be carried to the Queen-mother. All

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 125; Neale, ii. 132.

² *Statuta Eccl. Scoticana*, Pref. p. xlv.

³ *Ayliffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters*, p. lviii.

the other articles of the treaty were fulfilled. Even 'the Black Rood,' the sacred cross of Holy Rood, which Edward I. had carried off with the other relics, was restored. But 'the Stone of Scone, on ^{its retention.}

which the Kings of Scotland used at Scone to be placed on their inauguration, the people of London would by no means whatever allow to depart from themselves.'¹ More than thirty years ^{A. D. 1363.}

after, David II. being then old and without male issue, negotiations were begun with Edward III. that one of his sons should succeed to the Scottish crown; and that, in this event, the Royal Stone should be delivered out of England, and he should, after his English coronation, be crowned upon it at Scone.² But these arrangements were never completed. In the Abbey, in spite of treaties and negotiations, it remained, and still remains. The affection which now clings to it had already sprung up, and forbade all thought of removing it.

It would seem as if Edward's chief intention had been to present it, as a trophy of his conquest, to the Confessor's Shrine. On it the priest was to sit when celebrating mass at the altar of St. ^{its use.}

Edward. The Chair, doubtless, standing where it now stands, but facing, as it naturally would, westward, was then visible down the whole church, like the marble chair of the metropolitical See at Canterbury in its original position. When the Abbot sate there, on high festivals, it was for him a seat grander than any episcopal throne. The Abbey thus acquired the one feature needed to make it equal to a cathedral—a sacred Chair or Cathedra.

¹ *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 261; *Maitland*, p. 146.

² *Rymer's Fœdera*, vi. 426.

In this chair and on this stone every English sovereign from Edward I. to Queen Victoria has been inaugurated. In this chair Richard II. sits, in the contemporary portrait still preserved in the Abbey. The 'Regale Scotiæ' is expressly named in the coronation of Henry IV.,¹ and 'King Edward's Chair' in the coronation of Mary.² Camden calls it 'the Royal Chair;' and Selden says, 'In it are the coronations of our sovereigns.' When Shakspeare figures the ambitious dreams of the Duchess of Gloucester, they fasten on this august throne.

Methinks I sate in seat of majesty
In the *Cathedral Church* of Westminster,
And in that *Chair* where kings and queens are crowned.³

When James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, 'the antique regal chair of enthronisation did confessedly receive, with the person of his Majesty, the full accomplishment also of that prophetic prediction of his coming to the crown, which antiquity hath recorded to have been inscribed thereon.'⁴

The prediction.

It was one of those secular predictions of which the fulfilment cannot be questioned. Whether the prophecy was actually inscribed on the stone may be doubted, though this seems to be implied,⁵ and on the lower side is still visible a groove which may have contained it; but the fact that it was circulated and believed as early as the fourteenth century⁶ is certain,—

¹ *Annales Henrici Quarti* (St. Alban's Chronicles. Riley, A. D. 1399), p. 294.

² Planché, p. 16.

³ Shakspeare's *Henry VI.* Part ii. Act i. Sc. ii.

⁴ Speed, p. 885.

⁵ Boethius, *Hist. Scot.* (Par. 1575), f. 2, § 30.

⁶ See Appendix. Fordun, l. i. c. xxviii. Some inscription was upon it in the sixteenth century. (Rye's *Visits of Foreigners*, p. 132.)

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Once only it has been moved out of the Abbey, and that for an occasion which proves, perhaps more than any other single event since its first capture, the importance attached to it by the rulers and the people of England. When Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector in Westminster Hall, he was placed 'in the Chair of Scotland,' brought out of Westminster Abbey for that singular and special occasion.¹

It has continued, probably, the chief object of attraction to the innumerable visitors of the Abbey. Its interest
'We were then,' says Addison,² 'conveyed to The 'Spectator.'
the two coronation chairs, when my friend, having heard that the stone underneath the most ancient of them, which was brought from Scotland, was called Jacob's Pillow, sate himself down in the chair; and, looking like the figure of an old Gothic king, asked our interpreter what authority they had to say that Jacob had ever been in Scotland. The fellow, instead of returning him an answer, told him that he hoped his honour would pay the forfeit. I could observe Sir Roger a little ruffled on being thus trepanned; but, our guide not insisting upon his demand, the knight soon recovered his good humour, and whispered in my ear that if Will Wimble were with us, and saw those two chairs, it would go hard, but he would get a tobacco-stopper out of one or t'other of them.'

That is indeed a picture which brings many ages together:—the venerable mediæval throne; the old-fashioned Tory of the seventeenth century, filled with an unconscious reverence for the past; the hard-visaged

¹ Forster's *Life of Cromwell*, v. 421.

² *Spectator*, No. 329.

eighteenth century, in the person of the guide, to whom stone and throne and ancient knight were alike indifferent; the philosophic poet, standing by, with an eye to see and an ear to catch the sentiment and the humour of the whole scene. In the next generation, the harsh indifference had passed from the rude guide into the mouth of the most polished writer of the time. 'Look ye there, gentlemen,' said the attendant to Goldsmith, pointing to an old oak chair; 'there's a Goldsmith. curiosity for ye! In that chair the Kings of England were crowned. You see also a stone underneath, and that stone is Jacob's Pillow!' 'I *could see no curiosity* either in the oak chair or the stone: could I, indeed, behold one of the old Kings of England seated in this, or Jacob's head laid on the other, there might be something curious in the sight.'¹ But, in spite of Goldsmith's sneer, the popular interest has been unabated; and the very disfigurements of the Chair,² scratched over from top to bottom with the names of inquisitive visitors, prove not only the reckless irreverence of the intruders, but also the universal attraction of the relic. It is the one primeval monument which binds together the whole Empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations.³ It is thus embedded in the heart of the English monarchy — an element of poetic, patriarchal,

¹ *Citizen of the World* (Letter xiii).

² 'Peter Abbott slept in this chair July 5, 1800.' It is part of the same adventure in which the said Peter Abbott engaged for a wager, by hiding in the tombs, that he would write his name at night on Purcell's monument (*Malcolm's London*, p. 191); where, however, it does not appear.

³ A base foul stone, made precious by the foil
Of England's Chair. — (Shakspeare's *Richard III.* Act. v. Sc. iii.)

heathen times, which, like Araunah's rocky threshing-floor in the midst of the Temple of Solomon, carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct; a link which unites the Throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona, and connects the charm of our complex civilisation with the forces of our mother earth, — the stocks¹ and stones of savage nature.

10. The first English King who sat on this august seat in the Abbey was the unworthy Edward II.² He and Isabella his wife were crowned together by Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, one of a commission of three, named according to Lanfranc's arrangement, by Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury,³ who was absent and ill at Rome. The selection of Woodlock from among the three was a special insult to the memory of Edward I.,⁴ against whom Woodlock had conspired.⁵ The like unfeeling insolence was shown in the fact that the most conspicuous personage in the whole ceremony, who carried the crown before any of the magnates of the realm, was Piers Gaveston, the favourite whom his father's dying wish had excluded from his court.⁶ There was one incident which the clergy of the Abbey marked with peculiar satisfaction. In the enormous throng an old enemy of the convent, Sir John Bakewell, was trodden to death.⁷

Coronation
of Edward
II., Feb.
25, Shrove
Tuesday,
1308.

¹ So the venerable 'Stone of Fevers,' evidently an old Druidical relic, at the entrance of the Cathedral of Le Puy, in Auvergne; so the 'golden stone' of Clogher, long preserved in the Cathedral of Clogher. (Todd's *St. Patrick*, 129.)

² His is the first Coronation Roll. (Rymer, p. 33; Pauli, ii. 205.)

³ Taylor, p. 390.

⁴ See Chapter III.

⁵ Hook, iii. 438.

⁶ Coronation Roll of Edward II., m. 3d (Rymer, p. 33). Close Roll of 1 Edward II., m. 10d (Rymer, p. 36).

⁷ Neale, i. 71.

11. Edward III.'s accession, taking place not after the death but the deposition of his father, was marked by a solemn election. In a General Assembly convened in the Abbey, January 20, 1327, Archbishop Reynolds preached on the dubious text, *Vox populi vox Dei*.¹ The Prince would not accept the election till it had been confirmed by his father, and then within ten days was crowned. Isabella his mother, 'the shewolf of France,' affected to weep through the whole ceremony. The medal represented the childish modesty of the Prince: a sceptre on a heap of hearts, with the motto, *Populi dat jura voluntas*; and a hand stretched out to save a falling crown, *Non rapit sed accipit*.² The sword of state and shield of state, still kept in the Abbey, were then first carried before the sovereign.³ Queen Philippa was crowned in the following year, on Quinquagesima Sunday.

12. If Edward III.'s coronation is but scantily known, that of his grandson, Richard II., is recorded in the utmost detail. The '*Liber Regalis*,' which prescribed its order and has been the basis of all subsequent ceremonials, has been in the custody of the Abbots and Deans of Westminster from the time that it was drawn up, on this occasion, by Abbot Littlington. The magnificence of the dresses and of the procession is also described at length in the contemporary chronicles.⁴ Archbishop

Coronation
of Edward
III.

Feb. 1,²
1327.

The Sword
and Shield
of State.

Coronation
of Philippa,
Feb. 2, 1328.

Coronation
of Richard
II., July 16,
1377.

The '*Liber
Regalis*.'

¹ *Chron. Lanerc.* 258.

² Close Roll of 1 Edward III., m. 24d (Rymer, p. 684).

³ Chapters, p. 156. I cannot find the authority for these statements.

⁴ See the *Ironmongers' Exhibition*, pp. 142, 144. See also Chapter III.

⁵ Walsingham, i. 331, 332. It is also well given in Ridgway, pp. 126-160; *Gent. Mag.* 1831 (part ii.), p. 113.

Sudbury officiated. Three historical peculiarities marked the event. It is the first known instance of ^{The Pro-}cession from a custom, which prevailed till the time of ^{the Tower.} Charles II. — the cavalcade from the Tower. The King remained there for a week, in order to indicate that he was master of the turbulent city; and then rode bare-headed, amidst every variety of pageant, through Cheapside, Fleet Street, and the Strand, to ^{The} Westminster. He was accompanied by a ^{'Knights of} ^{the Bath.'} body of knights, created for the occasion, who, after having been duly washed in a bath, assumed their knightly dresses, and escorted their young companion to his palace. This was the first beginning of the 'Knights of the Bath,' who from this time forward formed part of the coronation ceremony till the close of the seventeenth century. A third peculiarity is the first appearance of the Champion — certainly of the first Dymoke. When the service was over, and the boy-King, exhausted with the long effort, was carried out fainting, the great nobles, headed by Henry Percy, Lord Marshal, mounted their chargers at the door ^{The} of the Abbey, and proceeded to clear the way ^{Champion.} for the procession, when they were met by Sir John Dymoke, the Champion. The unexpected encounter of this apparition, and the ignorance of the Champion as to where he should place himself, seem to indicate that either the office or the person was new. Dymoke had, in fact, contested the right with Baldwin de Freville, who, like him, claimed to be descended from the Kilpecs and the Marmions. He won his cause, and appeared at the gates of the monastery on a magnificently-caparisoned charger, 'the best but one,' which, according to fixed usage, he had taken from the royal stable. Before him rode his spear-bearer and shield-bearer, and

they sate at the gates waiting for the end of Mass. His motto, in allusion to his name, was *Dimico pro rege*. The Earl Marshal 'bade him wait for his perquisites until the King was sate down to dinner, and in the meantime he had better unarm himself, take his rest and ease awhile.' So he retired, discomfited, to wait outside the Hall, the proper scene of his challenge.¹ His appearance at that juncture probably belonged to the same revival of chivalric usages that had just produced the Order of the Garter and the Round Table at Windsor. It lingered down to our own time, with the right of wager of battle, which was asserted only a few years before the last appearance of the Champion at the coronation of George IV.

The profusion of the banquet accorded with the extravagant character of the youthful Prince. The golden eagle in the Palace Yard spouted wine. The expense was so vast as to be made an excuse for the immense demands on Parliament afterwards. The Bishop of Rochester, in his coronation sermon, as if with a pre-science of Wat Tyler, uttered a warning against excessive taxation: ²

Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows:
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth on the prow, and pleasure at the helm,
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That hush'd in grim repose expects his evening prey.
Fill high the sparkling bowl,
The rich repast prepare
Close by the royal chair
Fell thirst and famine scowl
A baleful smile upon their baffled guest.

¹ Holinshed, p. 417; Walsingham, ii. 337. See also *Archæologia*, xx. 207; Maaskell, iii. p. xxxiii.

² Turner's *Middle Ages*, ii. 245.

³ Gray's *Bard*. — See the description of the King's portrait in

13. The breach in the direct line of the Plantagenets, which is marked by the interruption of their Westminster tombs, is also indicated by the unusual precautions added at the coronation of Henry IV. to supply the defects of his title. The election had been in Westminster Hall.

Coronation
of Henry IV.

The Elec-
tion, Sept.
30, 1399.

The texts of the three inauguration sermons were all significant: '*Jacob*' (a supplanter indeed) 'received the blessing;' '*This man*' (in contrast to the unfortunate youth) 'shall rule over us;' '*We*' (the Parliament) 'must take care that our kingdom be quiet.'¹

Wednesday,
Oct. 13,
1399.²

The day of his coronation was the great festival of the Abbey, October 13, the anniversary of his own exile. He came to the Abbey with an ostentatious unpunctuality, having heard three Masses, and spent long hours with his confessor on the morning of that day, in accordance with the real or affected piety, which was to compensate, in the eyes of his subjects, for his usurpation. His bath and the bath of his knights is brought out more prominently than before.

In his coronation the use of the Scottish stone³ is first expressly mentioned; and, yet more suspiciously, a vase of holy oil, corresponding to the ampulla of Reims, first makes its appearance. The Virgin Mary had given (so the report ran) a golden eagle filled with holy oil to St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile, with the promise that any Kings of England anointed with it would be merciful rulers

The Am-
pulla.

Chapter III. Queen Anne was crowned in the Abbey by Archbishop Courtenay, 1382. (Sandford, p. 193.)

¹ Knyghton, cc. 2745, 2756. (*Richard II.* par M. Wallon, ii. 307-312.)

² *Arch.* xx. 206.

³ *Annales Ric. II. et Hen. IV., S. Alban's Chronicles* (Riley), pp. 294, 297.

and champions of the church.¹ It was revealed by a hermit, through the first Duke of Lancaster, to the Black Prince, by him laid up in the Tower for his son's coronation, unaccountably overlooked by Richard II., but discovered by him in the last year of his reign, and taken to Ireland, with the request to Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, to anoint him with it. The Archbishop refused, on the ground that the regal unction, being of the nature of a sacrament, could not be repeated. The King accordingly, on his return from Ireland, delivered the ampulla to the Archbishop at Chester, with the melancholy presage that it was meant for some more fortunate King.² A less questionable relic, the 'Lancaster' sword, was now first introduced, being that which Henry had worn at Ravenspur.³ The pall over his head was carried by the four Dukes of York, Surrey, Aumale, and Gloucester, more or less willingly, according to their politics.⁴ Both Archbishops joined in the coronation of this orthodox Queen Joan, Feb. 26, 1403. 'Jacob.'⁵ His wife Joan was crowned alone, three months after her marriage.⁶

14. The coronation of Henry V. is the only one represented in the structure of the Abbey itself. The ceremony is sculptured on each side of his Chantry: and assuredly, if ever there was a coronation which carried with it a transforming virtue, it was his.⁷ The chief incident, however, connected with it at the time was the terrible thunderstorm, which was supposed to predict the conflagration of Norwich, Gloucester, and other

¹ Maskell, iii. p. xvii.

² Walsingham, ii. 240.

³ Arch. xx. 206.

⁴ *Ibid.* 207.

⁵ Pauli, iii. 3.

⁶ Strickland, iii. 78.

⁷ See Chapter V.

Coronation
of Henry V.,
April 9,
Passion
Sunday,
1418.

cities during the ensuing summer, the heavy snow¹ and rain during the ensuing winter, and the wars² and tumults of the rest of his reign. His Queen, Catherine, was crowned when they returned from France.³

Queen
Catherine,
Feb. 24,
1420.

15. The coronation of Henry VI. was the first of a mere child. He was but nine years old, and sate on the platform in the Abbey, 'beholding all the people about sadly and wisely.'⁴ It was on the 6th of November, corresponding, as was fancifully thought, to the 6th of December,⁵ his birthday, and to the perfection of the number 6 in the Sixth Henry. Perhaps, in consideration of his tender years, was omitted, at the request of the Pope, the prayer that the King should have Peter's keys and Paul's doctrine.⁶ Then succeeded his coronation at Paris. Years afterwards his French Queen, Margaret, was crowned in the Abbey.

Coronation
of Henry
VI., Nov. 6,
1429.

Dec. 17, 1481.
Queen
Margaret,
April 80,
1445.

16. Of the coronation of Edward IV. there is nothing to record except the difficulty about the day.⁷ It was to have been early in March 1461. It was then, in consequence of the siege of Carlisle, put off till the 28th of June,⁸ 'the Sunday after Midsummer,'—the day of one other and happier coronation, hereafter to be noticed. But it was again deferred till the 29th,⁹ in consequence of the singular superstition which regarded the

Coronation
of Edward
IV., June
29, 1461.

June 29,
1461.

¹ Redman, p. 62.

² Capgrave, p. 125.

³ For the feast see Holinshed, p. 579.

⁴ Taylor, p. 163.

⁵ Capgrave, p. 146; Hook, v. 78.

⁶ D'Issaelli's *Charles I.*, i. 276.

⁷ The story of his coronation at York is a mistake, founded on another incident. (Holinshed, iii. 616.)

⁸ Hall, p. 257.

⁹ Speed, p. 853; Sandford, p. 404.

28th of any month to be a repetition of Childermas Day, always considered as unlucky.¹

17. All was prepared for the coronation of Edward V. — wildfowl for the banquet, and dresses for the guests.²

Edward V.,
June 22,
1483. But he, alone of our English sovereigns, passed to his grave 'uncrowned, without sceptre or ball.'³ His connection with the Abbey is through his birth⁴ and burial.⁵

18. As Henry IV. compensated for the defect of his title by the superior sanctity of his coronation, so the like defect in that of Richard III. was supplied by its superior magnificence. 'Never,' it was said, 'had such an one been seen.'⁶

Coronation
of Richard
III., July 6,
1483. On the 26th of June he rode in state from Baynard's Castle, accompanied by 6,000 gentlemen from the North, to Westminster Hall; and 'there sate in the seat royal, and called before him the judges to execute the laws, with many good exhortations, of which he followed not one.'⁷ He then went to make his offerings at the shrine of the Confessor. The Abbot met him at the door with St. Edward's sceptre. 'The monks sang Te Deum with a faint courage.' He then returned to the Palace, whence, on the 6th of July, he went with the usual procession to the Abbey. The lofty platform, high above the altar; the strange appearance of King and Queen, as they sate stripped from the waist upwards, to be anointed — the dukes around the King, the bishops and ladies around the Queen —

¹ See *Paston Letters*, i. 230, 235. But, according to the White Book of the Cinque Ports (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xv. 180), it was on the 28th.

² *Arch.* i. 387.

⁴ See Chapter V.

⁶ Speed, p. 933; Hall; Grafton.

³ Speed, p. 909.

⁵ See Chapter III.

⁷ Strickland, iii. 375.

the train of the Queen borne by Margaret of Richmond¹ — were incidents long remembered.

19. With all her prescience, Margaret could hardly have foreseen that within three years her own son would be in the same place; nor Bouchier, Cardinal Archbishop, that he would be dragged out, in his extreme old age,² a third time to consecrate the doubtful claims of a new dynasty.

Coronation
of Henry
VII., Oct.
30, 1485.

The coronation of Henry VII. was, however, by its mean appearance, a striking contrast to that of his predecessor.³ This may, in part, have been caused by Henry VII.'s well-known parsimony. But it probably also arose from the fact that his real title to the throne rested elsewhere. 'His marriage,' says Lord Bacon, 'was with greater triumph than either his entry or his coronation.'⁴ His true coronation he felt to have been when, on the field of Bosworth, the crown of Richard was brought by Sir Reginald Bray from the hawthorn-bush to Lord Stanley, who placed it on Henry's head, on the height still called, from the incident, Crown Hill.⁵ As such it appears in the stained glass of the chapel built for him in the Abbey, by the very same Sir Reginald. And in his will he enjoined that his image on his tomb should be represented as holding the crown, 'which it pleased God to give us with the victory of our enemy at our first field.'⁶ Elizabeth of York, from the same feeling, was not crowned till two years afterwards.⁷ Two ceremonies, however, were noticed in this truncated inauguration. Now first, in the archers needed

Corona-
tion of
Elizabeth
of York,
Nov. 26,
1487.

¹ Hall, p. 376; *Heralds' College (Excerpta Historica)*, p. 379.

² Hook, v. 383.

³ Hall, p. 423.

⁴ Bacon, *Henry VII.*, p. 26.

⁵ Hutton's *Bosworth*, p. 132.

⁶ Jesse's *Richard III.*, p. 297.

⁷ Leland, iv. 224; Jesse, p. 299.

to guard the King's dubious claims, appear the 'Yeomen of the Guard.'¹ The Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells, who had both been officers under the York dynasty, were superseded in their proper functions of supporters by the Bishops of Exeter and Ely.²

20. The splendour of the coronation of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon was such as might have been anticipated from their position and character. Then for the last time, in the person of Warham, the sanction of the see of Rome was lent to the ministration of the Archbishop of Canterbury.³ During its rejoicings Margaret of Richmond, the foundress of the Tudor dynasty, passed away to a more tranquil world.⁴

One other female coronation took place in this reign, that of Anne Boleyn. It must be told at length:—

It was resolved that such spots and blemishes as hung about the marriage should be forgotten in the splendour of the coronation. If there was scandal in the condition of the Queen, yet under another aspect that condition was matter of congratulation to a people so eager for an heir; and Henry may have thought that the sight for the first time in public of so beautiful a creature, surrounded by the most magnificent pageant which London had witnessed since the unknown day on which the first stone of it was laid, and bearing in her bosom the long-hoped-for inheritor of the English crown, might induce a chivalrous nation to forget what it was the

¹ Roberts' *York and Lancaster*, p. 472.

² This appears from 'the Device for the Coronation of Henry VII.' (p. 12), published by the Camden Society (No. XXI. 1842).

³ Hall, p. 509.

⁴ See Chapter III.

interest of no loyal subject to remember longer, and to offer her an English welcome to the throne.

In anticipation of the timely close of the proceedings at Dunstable, notice had been given in the city early in May, that preparations should be made for the coronation on the first of the following month. Queen Anne was at Greenwich, but, according to custom, the few preceding days were to be spent at the Tower; and on the 19th of May, she was conducted thither in state by the Lord Mayor and the city companies, with one of those splendid exhibitions upon the water which, in the days when the silver Thames deserved its name, and the sun could shine down upon it out of the blue summer sky, were spectacles scarcely rivalled in gorgeousness by the world-famous wedding of the Adriatic.

On the morning of the 31st of May, the families of the London citizens were stirring early in all houses. From Temple Bar to the Tower, the streets were May 31,
1553. fresh-strewed with gravel, the foot paths were railed off along the whole distance, and occupied on one side by the guilds, their workmen and apprentices, on the other by the city constables and officials in their gaudy uniforms, 'with their staves in hand for to cause the people to keep good room and order.' Cornhill and Gracechurch Street had dressed their fronts in scarlet and crimson, in arras and tapestry, and the rich carpet-work from Persia and the East. Cheapside, to outshine her rivals, was draped even more splendidly in cloth of gold and tissue and velvet. The sheriffs were pacing up and down on their great Flemish horses, hung with liveries, and all the windows were thronged with ladies crowding to see the procession pass. At length the Tower guns opened, the grim gates rolled back, and under the archway, in the bright May sunshine, the long column began slowly to defile. All these rode on in pairs. . . . It is no easy matter to picture to ourselves the blazing trail of splendour which in such a pageant must have drawn along the London streets — those streets which now we know so black

and smoke-grimed, themselves then radiant with masses of colour, gold and crimson and violet. Yet there it was, and there the sun could shine upon it, and tens of thousands of eyes were gazing on the scene out of the crowded lattices.

Glorious as the spectacle was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes were watching all for another object, which now drew near. In an open space behind the constable, there was seen approaching 'a white chariot,' drawn by two palfreys in white damask which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells; and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage — Fortune's plaything of the hour, the Queen of England — Queen at last — borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win: and she had won it.

There she sate, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds — most beautiful — loveliest — most favoured, perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. . . . Fatal gift of greatness! so dangerous ever! so more than dangerous in those tremendous times when the fountains are broken loose of the great deeps of thought, and nations are in the throes of revolution — when ancient order and law and tradition are splitting in the social earthquake; and as the opposing forces wrestle to and fro, those unhappy ones who stand out above the crowd become the symbols of the struggle, and fall the victims of its alternating fortunes! And what if into an unsteady heart and brain, intoxicated with splendour, the outward chaos should find its way, converting the poor silly soul into an image of the same confusion — if conscience should be deposed from her high place, and the Pandora-box be broken loose of passions and sensualities and follies; and at length there be nothing left of all

which man or woman ought to value, save hope of God's forgiveness!

Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, Queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London — not radiant then with beauty on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost, on a sad tragic errand, from which she will never more return, passing away out of an earth where she may stay no longer, into a Presence where, nevertheless, we know that all is well — for all of us — and therefore for her. . . .

With such 'pretty conceits,' at that time the honest tokens of an English welcome, the new Queen was received by the citizens of London. The King was not with her throughout the day, nor did he intend being with her in any part of the ceremony. She was to reign without a rival, the undisputed sovereign of the hour.

Saturday being passed in showing herself to the people, she retired for the night to 'the King's manor-house at Westminster,' where she slept. On the following ^{Sunday,} morning, between eight and nine o'clock, she re- ^{June 1, 1558.} turned to the Hall, where the Lord Mayor, the City Council, and the Peers were again assembled, and took her place on the high dais at the top of the stairs under the cloth of state; while the Bishops, the Abbots, and the monks of the Abbey formed in the area. A railed way had been laid with carpets across Palace Yard and the Sanctuary to the Abbey gates; and when all was ready, preceded by the Peers in their robes of Parliament, the Knights of the Garter in the dress of the Order, she swept out under her canopy, the Bishops and the monks 'solemnly singing.' The train was borne by the old Duchess of Norfolk, her aunt, the Bishops of London and Winchester on either side 'bearing up the lappets of her robe.' The Earl of Oxford carried the crown on its cushion immediately before her. She was dressed in purple velvet furred with ermine, her hair escaping loose, as she usually wore it, under a wreath of diamonds.

On entering the Abbey, she was led to the coronation chair, where she sat while the train fell into their places, and the preliminaries of the ceremonial were despatched. Then she was conducted up to the High Altar, and anointed Queen of England; and she received from the hands of Cranmer, fresh come in haste from Dunstable, with the last words of his sentence upon Catherine scarcely silent upon his lips, the golden sceptre and St. Edward's crown.

Did any twinge of remorse, any pang of painful recollection, pierce at that moment the incense of glory which she was inhaling? Did any vision flit across her of a sad mourning figure, which once had stood where she was standing, now desolate, neglected, sinking into the darkening twilight of a life cut short by sorrow? Who can tell? At such a time, that figure would have weighed heavily upon a noble mind, and a wise mind would have been taught by the thought of it, that although life be fleeting as a dream, it is long enough to experience strange vicissitudes of fortune. But Anne Boleyn was not noble and was not wise,—too probably she felt nothing but the delicious, all-absorbing, all-intoxicating present; and if that plain suffering face presented itself to her memory at all, we may fear that it was rather as a foil to her own surpassing loveliness. Two years later she was able to exult over Catherine's death; she is not likely to have thought of her with gentler feelings in the first glow and flush of triumph.¹

The 'three gentlemen' who met in 'a street in Westminster' in the opening of the 4th Act of Shakspeare's 'Henry VIII.' are the lively representatives, so to speak, of the multitudes who since have 'taken their stand here,' to behold the pageant of coronations:—

God save you, sir! Where have you been broiling?

3d Gent. Among the crowd i' the Abbey . . .

2d Gent. You saw the ceremony?

¹ Froude, i. 456-58.

3d Gent. That I did.

1st Gent. How was it?

3d Gent. Well worth the seeing.

2d Gent. Good sir, speak it to us.

3d Gent. As well as I am able. The rich stream
Of lords and ladies, having brought the Queen
To a prepared place in the Choir, fell off
A distance from her; while her Grace sat down
To rest a while, some half an hour or so,
In a rich chair of state, opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.
Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman
That ever lay by man. . . . Such joy
I never saw before. . . .
At length her Grace rose, and with modest paces
Came to the altar; where she kneel'd and, saintlike,
Cast her fair eyes to heaven, and pray'd devoutly.
. . . So she parted,
And with the same full state paced back again
To York-place, where the feast is held.¹

After Anne Boleyn's death, none of Henry's Queens were crowned. Jane Seymour would have been but for the plague, which raged 'in the Abbey itself.'¹

21. The design which had been conceived by the Second Henry, for securing the succession by the coronation of his eldest son before his death, also, for like reasons, took possession of the mind of Henry VIII. The preparations for Edward VI.'s inauguration were in progress at the moment of his father's death: in fact, it took place within the next month. The incidents in the procession from the Tower here first assume a characteristic form.² An Arragonese sailor capered on

Coronation
of Edward
VI., Feb. 20,
Shrove
Tuesday,
1546.

¹ *Henry VIII.*, Act iv. sc. 1.

² *Henry VIII.'s State Papers* (i. 460).

³ *Holinshed*; Taylor, p. 285; Leland, iv. 321; *Prynne's Signal Loyalty*, part ii. p. 250.

a tight-rope down from the battlements of St. Paul's to a window at the Dean's Gate, which delighted the boy-King. Logic, Arithmetic, and other sciences greeted the precocious child on his advance. One or two vestiges of the fading past crossed his road. 'An old man in a chair, with crown and sceptre, represented the state of King Edward the Confessor. St. George would have spoken, but that his Grace made such speed that for lack of time he could not.'¹ On his arrival at the Abbey, he found it, for the first time, transformed into a '*cathedral*.'² He was met not by Abbot or Dean, but by the then Bishop of Westminster, Thirlby. The King's godfather, Archbishop Cranmer, officiated; and the changes of the service, which was still that of the Mass of the Church of Rome, were most significant. It was greatly abridged, partly 'for the tedious length of the same,' and 'the tender age' of the King — partly for 'that many points of the same were such as, by the laws of the nation, were not allowable.' Instead of the ancient form of election, the Archbishop presented the young Prince as 'rightful and undoubted inheritor.'³ The consent of the people was only asked to the ceremony of the coronation. The unction was performed with unusual care. 'My Lord of Canterbury kneeling on his knees, and the King lying prostrate upon the altar, anointed his back.' The coronation itself was peculiar. 'My Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand for a certain space,' and it was set on the King's head by those two, the Duke and the Archbishop. For the first time the Bible was presented to the Sovereign,⁴ an act which may perhaps

¹ Leland, iv. 324.

² See Chapter VI.

³ Burnet, *Coll. Rec.*, part ii. book i. No. 4.

⁴ Camden's *Remains*, 371.

have suggested to the young King the substitution, which he had all but effected,¹ of the Bible for St. George in the insignia of the Order of the Garter. There was no sermon; but the² short address of Cranmer, considering the punctiliousness with which the ceremony had been performed, and the importance of his position as the Father of the Reformed Church of England, is perhaps the boldest and most pregnant utterance ever delivered in the Abbey. He warned the young ^{Archbishop Cranmer's} King against confounding orthodoxy with ^{address.} morality. He insisted on the supremacy of the royal authority over both the Bishops of Rome and the Bishops of Canterbury.

The wiser sort will look to their claws, and clip them.

He pointed out

in what respect the solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force nor necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be God's anointed — not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained; of the sword, which is authorised; of their persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of His Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of His people. The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony. — He described what God requires at the

¹ Anstis's *Order of the Garter*, i. 438. For the story of the King's remark on the Bible, in 'Chapters' (p. 174), I can find no authority.

² Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, i. 204; Harleian MS. 2308. Its genuineness is contested in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, ii. 232.

hands of kings and rulers—that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your Royal Majesty what things your Highness is to perform.

He required the King,

like Josiah, to see God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed; to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms.

22. Mary's coronation was stamped with all the strange vicissitudes of her accession. Now Mary. first rose into view the difficulties, which in various forms have reappeared since, respecting the Coronation Oath.

The Council proposed to bind the Queen, by an especial clause, to maintain the independence of the English Church; and she, on the other hand, was meditating how she could introduce an adjective *sub silentio*, and intended to swear only that she would observe the 'just' laws and constitutions. But these grounds could not be avowed.

The Queen was told that her passage through the streets would be unsafe until her accession had been sanctioned by Parliament, and the Act repealed by which she was illegitimatised. With Paget's help she faced down these objections, and declared that she would be crowned at once; she appointed the 1st of October for the ceremony; on the 28th she sent for the Council, to attempt an appeal to their generosity. She spoke to them at length of her past life and sufferings, of the conspiracy to set her aside, and of the wonderful Providence which had preserved her and raised her to the throne: her only desire, she said, was to do her duty to God and to her subjects; and she hoped (turning, as she spoke, pointedly to Gardiner)

The Pro-
cession,
Sept. 30,
1553.

that they would not forget their loyalty, and would stand by her in her extreme necessity. Observing them hesitate, she cried, 'My Lords, on my knees I implore you!'—and flung herself on the ground at their feet.

The most skilful acting could not have served Mary's purpose better than this outburst of natural emotion: the spectacle of their kneeling sovereign overcame for a time the scheming passions of her ministers; they were affected, burst into tears, and withdrew their opposition to her wishes.

On the 30th, the procession from the Tower to Westminster through the streets was safely accomplished. The retinues of the Lords protected the Queen from insult, and London put on its usual outward signs of rejoicing; St. Paul's spire was rigged with yards like a ship's mast [an adventurous Dutchman outdoing the Spaniard at Edward VI.'s coronation, and sitting astride on the weathercock, five hundred feet in the air].¹ The Hot Gospeller, half-recovered from his gaol-fever, got out of bed to see the spectacle, and took his station at the west end of St. Paul's. The procession passed so close as almost to touch him, and one of the train, seeing him muffled up, and looking more dead than alive, said, 'There is one that loveth Her Majesty well, to come out in such condition.' The Queen turned her head and looked at him. To hear that any one of her subjects loved her just then was too welcome to be overlooked.²

On the next day the ceremony in the Abbey was performed without fresh burdens being laid upon Mary's conscience. The three chief prelates, the Arch-
bishops of Canterbury and York, and the The Coronation, Oct. 1, 1553. Bishop of London, were prisoners in the Tower. Gardiner, therefore, as Bishop of Winchester, officiated, 'without any express right or precedent,' as Archbishop Parker afterwards indignantly wrote.³ The

¹ Taylor, p. 287; Holinshed.

² *De Ant. Brit.* p. 509.

³ Froude, vi. 100, 101.

sermon was by Bishop Day, who had preached at her brother's funeral.¹ She had been alarmed lest Henry IV.'s holy oil should have lost its efficacy through the interdict; and, accordingly, a fresh supply was sent through the Imperial Ambassador, blessed by the Bishop of Arras. She had also feared lest even St. Edward's Chair had been polluted, by having been the seat of her Protestant brother; and accordingly, though it is expressly stated to have been brought out, another chair was sent by the Pope, in which she sate, and which is now said to be in the cathedral of Winchester.² Anne of Cleves was present, and also Elizabeth. The Princess complained to the French Ambassador of the weight of her coronet. 'Have patience,' said Noailles, 'and before long you will exchange it for a crown.'³

23. That time soon arrived. The coronation of Elizabeth, like that of her sister, had its own special characteristics. The day (January 15) was fixed in deference to her astrologer, Dee, who pronounced it a day of good luck; and it was long observed as an anniversary in the Abbey.⁴ The procession was on the day before.

The Pro-
cession,
Jan. 14,
1559.

As she passed out to her carriage under the gates of the Tower, fraught to her with such stern remembrances, she stood still, looked up to heaven, and said —

'O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give Thee most humble thanks, that Thou hast been so merciful unto me as

¹ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* ii. 251.

² Planché, p. 60. — A reasonable doubt is expressed (in *Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 612) whether the Winchester chair is not that which served for her marriage.

³ Froude, vi. 102.

⁴ See Chapter VI.

to spare me to behold this joyful day ; and I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt wonderfully and mercifully with me. As Thou didst with Thy servant Daniel the prophet, whom Thou deliverdest out of the den, from the cruelty of the raging lions, even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen.'

She then took her seat, and passed on — passed on through thronged streets and crowded balconies, amidst a people to whom her accession was as the rising of the sun. Away in the country the Protestants were few and the Catholics many. But the Londoners were the first-born of the Reformation, whom the lurid fires of Smithfield had worked only into fiercer convictions. The aldermen wept for joy as she went by. Groups of children waited for her with their little songs at the crosses and conduits. Poor women, though it was midwinter, flung nosegays into her lap. In Cheapside the Corporation presented her with an English Bible. She kissed it, 'thanking the City for their goodly gift,' and saying, 'she would diligently read therein.' One of the crowd, recollecting who first gave the Bible to England, exclaimed, 'Remember old King Harry the Eighth !' and a gleam of light passed over Elizabeth's face — 'a natural child,' says Holinshed, 'who at the very remembrance of her father's name took so great a joy, that all men may well think that as she rejoiced at his name whom the realm doth still hold of so worthy memory, so in her doings she will resemble the same.'¹

The pageants in the City were partly historical — partly theological : her grandparents and her parents ; the eight Beatitudes ; Time with his daughter Truth — 'a seemly and meet personage richly apparelled in Parliament robes' — Deborah, 'the judge and restorer of the House of Israel.' On Temple Bar, for once

¹ Froude, vii. 38, 39.

deserting their stations at Guildhall, Gog and Magog stood, with hands joined over the gate. The Queen thanked her citizens, and assured them that she would 'stand their good Queen.' It has been truly remarked that the increased seriousness of the time is shown in the contrast between these grave Biblical figures and the light classical imagery of the pageants that witnessed the passage of her mother.¹

At the ceremony in the Abbey, on the following day, the Coronation Mass was celebrated, and the Abbot of Westminster took his part in the service for the last time. Thus far Elizabeth's conformity to the ancient Ritual was complete. But the coming changes made themselves felt. The Litany was read in English; the Gospel and Epistle, still more characteristically representing her double ecclesiastical position, in Latin and English. On these grounds, and from an unwillingness to acknowledge her disputed succession, the whole Bench of Bishops, with one exception, were absent.² The see of Canterbury was vacant. The Archbishop of York demurred to the English Litany. The Bishop of London, the proper representative of the Primate on these occasions, was in prison. But his robes were borrowed; and Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, Dean of the Chapel Royal, consented to act for him, but, it was believed, afterwards died of remorse.³ 'The oil was grease, and smelt ill.' Still the ceremony was completed, and she was elected and 'proclaimed' by the singular but ex-

The Coro-
nation,
Sunday,
Jan. 15,
1559.

¹ Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 251.

² *Ibid.* i. 252; Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 30; Taylor, p. 287. Machyn (Jan. 15, 1559) speaks of the *Bishops*, mitred and in scarlet, singing *Salve fasta dies*. But this must be a mistake.

³ Burnet, ii. pt. i. p. 685.

pressive title—'Empress from the Orcade Isles unto the Mountains Pyrenee.'¹

24. The day of the coronation of James I.—first king of 'Great Britain'—was chosen from his namesake the Apostle. The procession from the Tower was abandoned, in consequence of the plague; though Ben Jonson, who had been employed by the city to prepare the pageants, published his account of what they would have been.² The King and Queen went straight from the Palace to the Abbey, Anne 'with her hair down hanging.'³ The presence of all the Bishops, contrasted with the scanty attendance at the inauguration of Elizabeth, indicates that this was the first coronation celebrated by the Anglican Reformed Church. Andrews was Dean; Whitgift was Archbishop. Bilson preached the sermon.⁴ When James sat on the Stone of Scone,⁵ the first King of Great Britain, the Scots believed the ancient prediction to have been at last fulfilled. The only drawback in the ceremonial was the refusal of Anne to take the sacrament: 'she had changed her Lutheran religion once before,' for the Presbyterian forms of Scotland, and that was enough.⁶

Several significant changes were made in the Ritual, indicative of the grasping tendency of the Stuart kings, which afterwards were attributed to Laud, on the erroneous supposition that he had made the change for

¹ Planché, p. 47; Strickland, vi. 165, 167.

² Aikin's *James I.*, p. 151. They took place some months later, (*Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 189.)

³ Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 377; Birch, *State Papers*, ii. 504; Strickland, v. 105.

⁴ On Rom. xiii. 1.

⁵ Speed, p. 888. See Appendix.

⁶ Chapters, p. 103. The real reason probably was her secret adherence to the Church of Rome. Milman's *Essays*, p. 230.

Coronation
of James I.

Monday,
St. James's
Day, July
25, 1603.

Charles I. For the word '*elect*,' was substituted '*consecrate*;' and for '*the commons*,' '*the commonalty of your kingdom*.'¹ And to the '*laws which the King promised to observe*' were added the words '*agreeable to the King's prerogative*.'

25. The coronation of Charles I. was filled, both to the wise and to the superstitious, with omens of coming disaster. As in the time of his father, there was no procession, nominally because of the plague;² but really, it was suspected, because of the wish of 'Baby Charles' to save the money for the Spanish war, without the need of going to Parliament for supplies. Sir Robert Cotton was waiting at the stairs leading to his house, in the neighbourhood of the Palace, to present him with the ancient Gospels, 'on which for divers hundred years together the Kings of England had solemnly taken their coronation oaths. But the royal barge 'balked those steps,' and 'was run aground at the Parliament stairs.' Sir Robert was glad that the inconvenient precedent of landing at his stairs was missed; but it was believed that 'the Duke of Buckingham had prevented that act of grace being done him.'³ There was a feud raging within the Chapter of Westminster — an echo of the larger struggles without — which was apparent as soon as the King entered the doors of the Abbey. Williams, the Dean, was in disgrace, and had in vain entreated Buckingham to be allowed to officiate. But his rival, Laud, carried the day through that potent favourite, and, as prebendary,

Coronation
of Charles I.

Feast of the
Purification,
Feb. 2,
1626-6.

¹ Lawson's *Life of Laud*, i. 297-305.

² 'Though the infectious air of London had lately been corrected with a sharp winter, yet . . . a suspicion of danger did remain.' (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A. D. 1626.)

³ Ellis's *Collection of Original Letters*, i. 214; *Gent. Mag.* 1838, vol. ix. p. 473.

took the place of his hated superior.¹ The coronations of the Tudor sovereigns have been according² to the Roman Pontifical, and that of James I. having been prepared in haste, Charles issued a commission, in which Laud took the chief part, to draw up a more purely Anglican Service. The alterations, however, rather pointed in another direction. The unction was to be made in the form of a cross. Laud consecrated the oil on the altar.³ The clergy were especially named as coming 'nearer to the altar than others.' The King vouchsafed to kiss the two chief officiating Prelates. On the altar was planted an ancient crucifix from the Regalia. King Edward's ivory comb was brought out, and when the King sate down in the royal chair, 'he called for the comb that he might see it.' At the same time the Royal Prerogative was exalted by the introduction of the prayer (omitted since the time of Henry VI.) that the King might have 'Peter's keys and Paul's doctrine.'⁴ The words 'to the people' were said to have been left out in the oath.⁵ Whether by accident, or from its being the proper colour for the day (the Feast of the Purification), or 'to declare the virgin purity with which he came to be espoused to his kingdom, Charles changed the usual purple velvet robe for one of white satin, which the spectators, at the time or afterwards, regarded as ominous of his being led out as a victim, or as having drawn upon him the misfortunes

¹ It was left to Williams's choice to name a prebendary. He could not pass over Laud (as Bishop of St. David's), and he would not nominate him. He therefore presented a complete list, and left to the King to choose. (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A. D. 1626.) See Chapter VI.

² Heylin's *Laud*, p. 135.

³ State Papers, Feb. 2, 1625-26. See p. 46.

⁴ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 136.

⁵ Oldmixon, i. 82.

predicted in ancient days for the 'White King.'¹ 'The left wing of the dove, the mark of the Confessor's halcyon days, was broken on the sceptre staff—by what casualty God himself knows. The King sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the ring-stone should be set in again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly but that some mark would remain thereof. The King, in some passion, returned, "If you will not do it, another shall." Thereupon Mr. Acton returned and got another dove of gold to be artificially set in; whereat his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof.' It was the first infringement on the old Regalia. The text was, as if for a funeral sermon, 'I will give thee a crown of life,' by Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who died shortly after of black jaundice, 'a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its burial.'² During the solemnity an earthquake was felt, which Baxter long remembered, 'being a boy at school at the time, and having leave to play. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon, and did affright the boys and all in the neighbourhood.'³

The whole ceremonial is detailed by Fuller as coming 'within (if not the park and pale) the purlieus of ecclesiastical history.' But he adds, with a touching pathos: 'I have insisted the longer on this subject, moved thereat by this consideration—that if it be the last solemnity performed on an English King in this land, posterity will conceive my pains well bestowed, because on the last. But, if hereafter Divine Providence shall assign England another King, though

¹ Oldmixon, i. 82; Palgrave's *Normandy*, iii. 880; Heylin's *Laud*, p. 138.

² Fuller's *Church Hist.* A. D. 1626.

³ Baxter's *Life*, p. 2.

the transactions herein be not wholly precedented, something of state may be chosen out grateful for imitation.'¹

26. At the time when Fuller wrote these words, it did indeed seem as if Charles I.'s coronation would be the last. All its disastrous omens had been verified, and a new dynasty seemed firmly established on the throne of this realm. The Regalia were gone.² Yet even then there was a semblance preserved of the ancient Ritual. Not in the Abbey, but ^{Installation of Oliver Cromwell, June 26, 1657.} in the adjacent Hall, his Highness Oliver Cromwell was 'installed' as Lord Protector; and out of the Abbey was brought, for that one and only time, 'the Chair of Scotland,' and on it, 'under a prince-like canopy of state,' as a successor of Fergus and Kenneth, of Edward I. and of James I., Oliver was solemnly enthroned. The Bible was presented as in the time of Edward VI.: 'a book of books,' which 'doth contain both precepts and examples for good government;' 'the book of life, which, in the Old Testament, shows *Christum velatum*; in the New, *Christum revelatum*.'³

27. The coronation of Charles II.⁴ was celebrated with all the splendour which the enthusiasm of the

¹ Fuller's *Church Hist.* A. D. 1626. — Charles I. was crowned King of Scotland at Edinburgh, by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews. (See Ellis's *Letters*, iii. 283; D'Israeli's *Charles I.*, i. 276.)

² See Chapters V. and VI.

³ Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, v. 421, 423.

⁴ He had already been crowned King of Scotland, in the parish church of Scone, on January 1, 1651. The sermon was preached by the Moderator of the General Assembly. The text was 2 Kings xi. 12-17. After the sermon the King swore, with his usual facility, to carry out the Solemn League and Covenant. The crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle, who was executed after the Restoration.

Restoration could provide. It is the first of which an elaborate pictorial representation remains.¹

Coronation
of Charles
II.

'The ceremony of the King's coronation was done with the greatest solemnity and glory,' says Clarendon, 'that ever any had been seen in that kingdom.' The utmost care was taken to examine 'the records and old formularies,' and to ascertain the 'claims to privileges and precedence,' in order 'to discredit and discountenance the novelties with which the Kingdom had been so much intoxicated for so many years together.'²

The Procession,
April
23, 1661.

The procession from the Tower was revived. Pepys, of course, was there to see :

Up early, and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. . . . It is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid [in the procession], and their horses and horse-cloths. Amongst others, my Lord Sandwich's diamonds and embroidery was not ordinary among them. The knights of the Bath was a brave sight in itself. . . . Remarkable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. The Bishops were next after Barons, which is the higher place ; which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, being Master of the Horse. . . . The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets upon them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. . . . Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. . . .

¹ Ogilvy's *Coronation of King Charles II.*, where every triumphal arch is described.

² Clarendon's *Life*, April 23, 1661.

About four I rose and got to the Abbey, and with much ado did get up into a scaffold across the north end, where with a great deal of patience I sate from past four to eleven. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle all covered with red, and a throne, that is a chair and footstool, on the top of it, and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests. At last comes the Dean [Dr. Earles] and Prebendaries of Westminster.¹

The Coronation,
April 23,
1661.

The ceremonial we need not follow, except in a few characteristic particulars. The Regalia were all new, though bearing the ancient names, in the place of those that perished in the Commonwealth. Busby carried the ampulla. Archbishop Juxon, 'in a rich ancient cope,' 'present but much indisposed and weak,'² anointed and crowned the King. The rest of the service was performed by Sheldon, as Bishop of London.³ Several untoward incidents marred the solemnity. The Duke of York prevailed on the King, 'who had not high reverence for old customs,' that Lord Jermyn should act the part of his Master of the Horse, as the Duke of Albemarle did to the King.

The Lords were exceedingly surprised and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing till they saw it; and they liked it the worse because they discerned that it issued from a fountain from whence many bitter waters were like to flow — the customs of the Court of France, whereof the King and the

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, April 22 and 23, 1661. The King rode, not to Westminster, but to Whitehall. The banquet, however, was at Westminster. (Ogilvy, p. 177.)

² Evelyn, April 23, 1661; Ogilvy, p. 177.

³ The sermon was preached before, on Prov. xxviii. 2, by Morley, Bishop of Worcester; according to Pepys, on the day before, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, according to Evelyn, at the usual time of the service.

Duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation.

The Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Ossory quarrelled as to the right of carrying the insignia, 'as they sate at table in Westminster Hall.'¹ The King's footmen and the Barons of the Cinque Ports had a desperate struggle for the canopy.

'Strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair till all is done, and then it fell raining, and thundering, and lightning as I have not seen it so for some years ; which people did take great notice of.'²

28. As in the case of Charles II., so of James II., an elaborate description of the pageant is preserved.³ He was crowned, as his brother had been, on the 23rd of April, the Feast of St. George.

Coronation
of James II.,
April 23,
1685.

The presence of the Queen and of the Peeresses gave to the solemnity a charm which had been wanting to the magnificent inauguration of the late King. Yet those who remembered that inauguration pronounced that there was a great falling-off. . . . James ordered an estimate to be made of the cost of the procession from the Tower, and found that it would amount to about half as much as he proposed to expend in covering his wife with trinkets. He accordingly determined to be profuse where he ought to have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse. More than a hundred thousand pounds were laid out in dressing the Queen, and the procession from the Tower was omitted. The folly of this course is obvious. If pageantry

¹ Clarendon's *Life*, *ibid*.

² Pepys, April 23, 1661. — There was no coronation for the Queen-Consort in 1662.

³ Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*

be of any use in politics, it is of use as a means of striking the imagination of the multitude. It is surely the height of absurdity to shut out the populace from a show of which the main object is to make an impression on the populace. James would have shown a more judicious munificence and a more judicious parsimony, if he had traversed London from east to west with the accustomed pomp, and had ordered the robes of his wife to be somewhat less thickly set with pearls and diamonds. His example was, however, long followed by his successors; and sums which, well employed, would have afforded exquisite gratification to a large part of the nation, were squandered on an exhibition to which only three or four thousand privileged persons were admitted.

James had ordered Sancroft to abridge the Ritual. The reason publicly assigned was that the day was too short for all that was to be done. But whoever examines the changes which were made will see that the real object was to remove some things highly offensive to the religious feelings of a zealous Roman Catholic. The Communion Service was not read.¹ . . .

Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, preached. He was one of those writers who still affected the obsolete style of Archbishop Williams and Bishop Andrews. The sermon was made up of quaint conceits, such as seventy years earlier might have been admired, but such as moved the scorn of a generation accustomed to the purer eloquence of Sprat, of South, and of Tillotson. King Solomon was King James. Adonijah was Monmouth. Joab was a Rye-house conspirator; Shimei, a Whig libeller; Abiathar, an honest but misguided old cavalier. One phrase in the Book of Chronicles was construed to mean that the King was above the Parliament, and another was cited to prove that he alone ought to command the militia. Towards the close of the discourse, the orator

¹ The Coronation Oath is said to have been altered. (Oldmixon, ii. 695.) The ceremony of the presentation of the Bible was not yet a fixed part of the Ritual.

very timidly alluded to the new and embarrassing position in which the Church stood with reference to the sovereign, and reminded his hearers that the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, though not himself a Christian, had held in honour those Christians who remained true to their religion, and had treated with scorn those who sought to earn his favour by apostasy. The service in the Abbey was followed by a stately banquet in the Hall, the banquet by brilliant fireworks, and the fireworks by much bad poetry.¹

The crown had tottered on James's head. Henry Sidney, as Keeper of the Robes, held it up. 'This,' he said, 'is not the first time our family has supported the crown.'²

29. The same apprehensions that Fuller entertained when he recorded the coronation of Charles I., under the feeling that it might be the last, were doubtless felt by many a spectator of the events which succeeded the coronation of James II., that this again would not be followed by another. The legitimate line was broken: the successor was neither an Englishman nor an Anglican. But with that tenacity of ancient forms which distinguished the Revolution of 1688, the rite of Coronation, so far from being set aside, was now first sanctioned by Act of Parliament.³ It owed this recognition, doubtless, to the Coronation Oath, which had always been treated as the safeguard of the liberties of the

William and
Mary.

Sanction of
their coro-
nation by
Parliament.

¹ Macaulay, i. 473, 474.

² Oldmixon, i. 195; North, ii. 126. Three relics of James II.'s coronation remain:—1. The music, then first used, of Purcell and Blow. (Planché, p. 52.) 2. The tapestry, preserved in Westminster School and in the Jerusalem Chamber, of which two of the pieces, those of the Circumcision of Isaac and of Goliath, can be identified in Sandford's engravings. 3. The attendance of the Westminster Scholars. (Sandford, 83.)

³ 1 William and Mary, c. 14.

English Church and nation, and was now, for the first time since the Reformation, altered into conformity with the actual usages of the kingdom, to maintain 'the Protestant religion as established by law.'¹ 'From this time,' said a speaker in the House of Commons, 'the English will date their liberty and their laws from William and Mary, not from St. Edward the Confessor.'²

The procession at their coronation, as in the case of James II., took place not from the Tower, but from the Palace of Whitehall. It was delayed more than two hours (from 11 A.M. to 1.30 P.M.),
The Pro-
cession.
 perhaps by the press of business consequent on the alarming intelligence, which had reached the King and Queen not long before, of the landing of James II. in Ireland.³

At last they appeared. There were many peculiarities in the spectacle. The double coronation was such as had never been seen before. The short King
The Coro-
nation,
Saturday,
April 11,
1689.
 and tall Queen walked side by side, not as king and consort, but as joint sovereigns, with the sword between them. For the first time a second chair of state was provided, which has since been habitually used for the Queens-consort. Into this chair Mary was lifted, like her husband, girt with the sword, and invested with the symbols of sovereignty. The

¹ For the whole question of the alteration of the Coronation Oath, see Macaulay, iii. 114-117.

² The Declaration against Transubstantiation, required from the sovereign by the Bill of Rights (1 W. and M. c. 2, § 2), was made in the Abbey, down to the coronation of George IV. Since that time it has (in pursuance with the provisions of the same Act) been read previously before the two Houses of Parliament.

³ Clarke's *James II.*, ii. 328, 329; Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 15; Lamberty, quoted in Strickland, xi. 21. James II. landed at Kinsale on March 12.

Princess Anne, who stood near, said, 'Madam, I pity your fatigue.' The Queen turned sharply, with the words, 'A crown, sister, is not so heavy as it seems.'¹ Behind the altar rose, for the first time, above the Confessor's Chapel, the seats of the assembled Commons. There was a full attendance of the lay magnates of the realm, including even some who had voted for a Regency. Amongst the gifts was (revived from the coronation of Edward VI. and the installation of Cromwell) the presentation, continued from this time henceforward, of the Bible as 'the most valuable thing that this world affords.'²

The show of Bishops, indeed, was scanty. The Primate did not make his appearance; and his place was supplied by Compton. On one side of Compton, the paten was carried by Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, eminent among the seven confessors of the preceding year. On the other side Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, lately a member of the High Commission, had charge of the chalice [as Dean of Westminster]. Burnet, the junior prelate, preached [on the last words of David the son of Jesse³] with all his wonted ability, and more than his wonted taste and judgment. His grave and eloquent discourse was polluted neither by adulation nor by malignity. He is said to have been greatly applauded; and it may well be believed that the animated peroration, in which he implored Heaven to bless the royal pair with long life and mutual love, with obedient subjects, wise counsellors, and faithful allies, with gallant fleets and armies, with victory,

¹ Oldmixon's *Hist. of England*; William and Mary, p. 8.

² Maskell, iii. p. cxix. Coronation Service of William and Mary.

³ Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*, i. 521. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4: 'He that ruleth over man must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.'

with peace, and finally with crowns more glorious and more durable than those which then glittered on the altar of the Abbey, drew forth the loudest hums of the Commons.¹

There were, of course, bad omens observed by the Jacobites. The day was, for the first time, neither a Sunday nor a holyday. The King had no money for the accustomed offering of twenty guineas, and it was supplied by Danby.² The way from the Abbey to the Palace was lined with Dutch soldiers. The medals had on their reverse a chariot, which was interpreted to be that on which Tullia drove over her father's body. The more scurrilous lampoons represented a boxing-match between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London in the Abbey, and the Champion riding up the hall on an ass which kicked over the royal tables.³ The Champion's glove was reported to have been carried off by an old woman upon crutches. 'I heard the sound of his gauntlet when he flung it on the ground,' says a spectator; 'but as the light in Westminster Hall had utterly failed, no person could distinguish what was done.'⁴

30. The coronation of Anne, the last Stuart sovereign, had been fixed long before to be, as that of her father and uncle, on St. George's Day; and so it took place, though William had been buried but ten days before. The Queen was carried, Coronation of Anne, April 23, 1702 owing to her gout, from St. James's to the Abbey.⁵ The duties of Lord Great Chamberlain were performed by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Her train was carried by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Archbishop Tenison

¹ Macaulay, iii. 188, 199.

⁴ Lamberty in Strickland, xi.

² Lamberty in Strickland, xii. 24. 27.

³ Macaulay, iii. 120.

⁵ Taylor, p. 111.

crowned her.¹ Sharp, Archbishop of York, preached the sermon on Isa. xlix. 23, 'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers' — doubtless in the expectation, not altogether fruitless, of the advantages that the Church of England would derive from 'the bounty of good Queen Anne.' One important place was vacant. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, who should have supported her left side, was absent. For Ken was in his nonjuring retirement, and Kidder was in disgrace.² It was remembered that the high offices of the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine were represented by Jonathan Andrews and James Clark.³ The Queen received the homage of her husband, Prince George of Denmark, in the same form as that of the English nobles.

31. George I.'s coronation was an awkward reconciliation between the two contending factions and nations. The ceremonies had to be explained by the ministers, who could not speak German, to the King, who could not speak English, in Latin, which they must both have spoken very imperfectly. Hence the saying, that much 'bad language' passed between them.⁴ Bolingbroke and Oxford endeavoured to propitiate the new dynasty by assisting at the coronation — Atterbury, by offering to the King the perquisites which he might have claimed as Dean.⁵ Bishop Talbot preached the sermon. The day was celebrated at Oxford by Jacobite degrees, and at Bristol by Jacobite riots.⁶

¹ It is said that she had negotiated for Ken to crown her (Strickland, xii. 48). But this would hardly have been done without expelling Tenison.

² Ibid.

³ Taylor, p. 105.

⁴ Chapters, p. 188.

⁵ Oldmixon, ii. 578.

⁶ Stanhope's *England*, vol. i. 167. The additional securities for

In this reign a permanent change was effected in one of the accompaniments of the coronation, — namely, the new arrangement of the Knights of the Bath. In the earlier coronations, it had been the practice of the sovereigns to create a number of knights before they started on their procession from the Tower. These knights being made in time of peace, ^{The Order of the Bath.} were not enrolled in any existing order, and for a long period had no special designation; but, inasmuch as one of the most striking and characteristic parts of their admission was the complete ablution of their persons on the vigil of their knighthood, as an emblem of the cleanliness and purity of their future profession, they were called Knights of 'the Bath.'¹ The King himself bathed on the occasion with them. They were completely undressed, placed in large baths, and then wrapped in soft blankets.² The distinctive name first appears in the time of Henry V. The ceremony had always taken place at Westminster; the bath in the Painted or Prince's Chamber, and the vigils either before the Confessor's Shrine, or (since the Reformation) in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Edward II. was thus knighted, at his father's coronation; and the crowd was so great that two knights were suffocated.³ Evelyn saw 'the bathing of the knights, preparatory to the coronation of Charles II., in the Painted Chamber.'⁴ The badge

the Church of England were now added to the Coronation Oath in consequence of those granted to the Church of Scotland in the Act of the Union.

¹ The most remarkable 'bath' ever taken by a knight, for this purpose, was that of the Tribune Rienzi in the porphyry font of Constantine, in the Baptistery of St. John Lateran. The words 'dub a knight' are said to be taken from the dip, 'doob,' in the bath.

² Nichols's *History of the Orders*, iii. 341.

³ Brayley's *Westminster*, p. 97.

⁴ Diary, April 19, 1661.

which they wore was emblematic of the sacredness of their Order — three garlands twisted together in honour of the Holy Trinity, and supposed to be derived from Arthur, founder of British chivalry. The motto — with a somewhat questionable orthodoxy — was, '*Tria numina juncta in uno.*' The badge was altered in the reign of James I., who, by a no less audacious secularisation, left out *numina*, in order to leave the interpretation open for 'the junction in one' of the three kingdoms (*tria regna*) of England, Scotland, and Ireland.¹ The Shamrock was added to the Rose and Thistle after the Union with Ireland, 1802.²

It occurred to Sir Robert Walpole to reconstruct the Order, by the limitation of its members to persons of merit, and by the title, thus fitly earned, of
 1725. 'the most honourable.' It is said that his main object was to provide himself with a means of resisting the constant applications for the Order of the Garter. As such he offered it to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for her grandson. 'No,' she said, 'nothing but the Garter.' 'Madam,' said Walpole, 'they who take the Bath will the sooner have the Garter.'³

The first knight created under the new statutes was William Duke of Cumberland, son of the future King, George II. The child — afterwards to grow up into the fierce champion of his house — was but four years old, and was, 'by reason of his tender age,' excused from the bath. But he presented his little sword at

¹ Nichols, pp. 37, 38, 46.

² Ibid. pp. 192, 194.

³ Ibid. p. 39.

Quoth King Robin, 'Our Ribbons, I see, are too few —
 Of St. Andrew's the Green, and St. George's the Blue;
 I must find out another of colour more gay,
 That will teach all my subjects with pride to obey.'

(Swift's *Works*, xii. 309.)



INSTALLATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH IN 1812, IN HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.

the altar; and the other knights were duly bathed in the Prince's Chamber, and kept their vigil in Henry VII.'s Chapel, where also the installation took place, as has been the case ever since. The number of knights (36) was fixed to correspond with the number of the stalls in the Chapel. Every 20th of October — the anniversary of George I.'s coronation — a procession of the knights was to take place to the Chapel, with a solemn service.¹ On occasion of an installation, they proceeded after the service, in their scarlet robes and white plumes, to a banquet in the Prince's Chamber. The royal cook stood at the door of the Abbey, with his cleaver, threatening to strike off the spurs from the heels of any knight who proved unworthy of his knightly vows.² The highest functionary was the Great Master, an office first filled by Montagu, Earl of Halifax. In 1749 Lord Delamere asked the place for the Duke of Montagu, who died in that year; and from that time — to prevent the recurrence of such a precedence — no Great Master has been appointed, a Prince always acting on his behalf.³ Next to him ranks the Dean of Westminster, as Dean of the Order. The selection of a dean rather than a bishop arose from the circumstance that the statutes were

*Installations
of the
Knights of
the Bath.*

¹ Nichols, pp. 47, 52.

² The whole scene is represented in a picture, painted by Canaletti for Bishop Wilcocks, in 1747, now in the Deanery. (See Chapter VI.) From this picture it would appear that on that occasion the procession came out by the west door. In 1803 (see *Gent. Mag.*, lxxiii. pt. 1, p. 460), it entered and retired by Poets' Corner; and the cook accordingly stood, not (as in 1747) at the west entrance, but at the South Transept door. 'Each of the knights bowed to him, and touched their hats. Some of them asked whether there were any fees to pay; to which he answered, he would do himself the honour to call upon them. We understand that he receives four guineas for this extraordinary speech.'

³ Nichols, p. 82.

framed on the model of those of the Order of the Thistle, which, being established in Scotland during the abeyance of Episcopacy, had no place for a prelate amongst its officers. According to this Presbyterian scheme, the Dean of Westminster was naturally chosen, both from his position as the chief Presbyter in the Church of England, and also from his connection with the Abbey in which the ceremony was to take place. It was his duty to receive the swords of the knights, lay them on the altar (erected for the purpose), and restore them to their owners with suitable admonitions. Under the altar were placed the banners of the deceased knights, during which ceremony the Dead March in Saul was played.¹

The installations continued, at intervals more or less remote, till 1812, under the Regency, since which time they have ceased. In 1839 the Order underwent so extensive an enlargement and alteration, that no banners have since been added to those then hung in the Chapel.

One remarkable degradation and restitution has taken place. Earl Dundonald's banner was, after the charges of fraud brought against him in 1814, taken from its place, and ignominiously kicked down the steps of the Chapel. After many vicissitudes, it was restored to the family upon his death; and in 1860, on the day of his funeral in the Abbey, by order of the Queen, was restored by the Herald of the Order to its ancient support. Underneath the vacant place of the shield an unknown

¹ *Gent. Mag. ut supra.* — In 1803 the Queen and Princesses sat in the Dean's Gallery, at the south-west corner of the Nave, and were afterwards entertained in the Deanery. The knights, in their passage round the Nave, halted and made obeisance to them, the trumpets sounding the whole time of the procession.

admirer has rudely carved, in Spanish, '*Cochrane—Chili y Libertad viva!*'

32. We return to the ordinary routine of the royal inaugurations.

Coronation
of George
II., Oct. 11,
1727.

The coronation of George II.¹ was performed with all the pomp and magnificence that could be contrived; the present King differing so much from the last, that all the pageantry and splendour, badges and trappings of royalty, were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father. The dress of the Queen on this occasion was as fine as the accumulated riches of the city and suburbs could make it; for besides her own jewels (which were a great number, and very valuable), she had on her head and on her shoulders, all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other; so that the appearance of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness, not unlike the *éclat* of royalty in many other particulars when it comes to be really examined, and the sources traced to what money hires or flattery lends.²

33. 'The coronation of George III.³ is over,' says Horace Walpole, —

"Tis even a more gorgeous sight than I imagined. I saw the procession and the Hall; but the return was in the dark.

¹ For a quarrel with the Dean on this occasion, see Chapter Book, November 4, 1727. The 'Veni Creator' was omitted by mistake. (Lambeth Coronation Service.) Bishop Potter preached the sermon, on 2 Chron. ix. 8. (*Calamy's Life*, ii. 501.)

² Lord Hervey, i. 88, 89. — This was caused by the loss of Queen Anne's jewels.

³ It is noted, that whereas few gave half-a-guinea for places to see George II.'s coronation, and for an apartment forty guineas, in the time of George III. front seats along the line of procession cost ten guineas, and a similar apartment three hundred and fifty. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1821, pt. ii. p. 77. Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 445.)

In the morning they had forgot the sword of state, the chairs for King and Queen, and their canopies. They used the Lord

Corona-
tion of
George III.,
Sept. 22,
1761.

Mayor's for the first, and made the last in the Hall: so they did not set forth till noon; and then, by a childish compliment to the King, reserved the illumination of the Hall till his entry, by which means they arrived like a funeral, nothing being discernible but the plumes of the Knights of the Bath, which seemed the hearse. . . . My Lady Townshend said she should be very glad to see a coronation, as she never had seen one. 'Why,' said I, 'Madam, you walked at the last!' 'Yes, child,' said she, 'but I saw nothing of it: I only looked to "see who looked at me."' The Duchess of Queensberry walked! Her affectation that day was to do nothing preposterous. . . . For the coronation, if a puppet-show could be worth a million, that is. The multitudes, balconies, guards, and processions made Palace Yard the liveliest spectacle in the world: the Hall was the most glorious. The blaze of lights, the richness and variety of habits, the ceremonial, the benches of peers and peeresses, frequent and full, was as awful as a pageant can be; and yet for the King's sake and my own, I never wish to see another; nor am impatient to have my Lord Effingham's promise fulfilled. The King complained that so few precedents were kept for their proceedings. Lord Effingham owned, the Earl Marshal's office had been strangely neglected; but he had taken such care for the future, that the *next coronation* would be regulated in the most exact manner imaginable. The number of peers and peeresses present was not very great; some of the latter, with no excuse in the world, appeared in Lord Lincoln's gallery, and even walked about the Hall indecently in the intervals of the procession. My Lady Harrington, covered with all the diamonds she could borrow, hire, or seize, and with the air of Roxana, was the finest figure at a distance; she complained to George Selwyn that she was to walk with Lady Portsmouth, who would have a wig, and a stick. 'Pho,' said he,

'you will only look as if you were taken up by the constable.' She told this everywhere, thinking the reflection was on my Lady Portsmouth. Lady Pembroke, alone at the head of the countesses, was the picture of majestic modesty ; the Duchess of Richmond as pretty as nature and dress, with no pains of her own, could make her ; Lady Spencer, Lady Sutherland, and Lady Northampton, very pretty figures. Lady Kildare, still beauty itself, if not a little too large. The ancient peeresses were by no means the worst party : Lady Westmoreland, still handsome, and with more dignity than all ; the Duchess of Queensberry looked well, though her locks milk white ; Lady Albemarle very genteel ; nay, the middle age had some good representatives in Lady Holderness, Lady Rochford, and Lady Strafford, the perfectest little figure of all. My Lady Suffolk ordered her robes, and I dressed part of her head, as I made some of my Lord Hertford's dress ; for you know, no profession comes amiss to me, from a tribune of the people to a habit-maker. Don't imagine that there were not figures as excellent on the other side : old Exeter, who told the King he was the handsomest man she ever saw ; old Effingham and a Lady Say and Seale, with her hair powdered and her tresses black, were an excellent contrast to the handsome. Lord B—— put on rouge upon his wife and the Duchess of Bedford in the Painted Chamber ; the Duchess of Queensberry told me of the latter, that she looked like an orange-peach, half red and half yellow. The coronets of the peers and their robes disguised them strangely ; it required all the beauty of the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough to make them noticed. One there was, though of another species, the noblest figure I ever saw, the High Constable of Scotland, Lord Errol ; as one saw him in a space capable of containing him, one admired him. At the wedding, dressed in tissue, he looked like one of the giants in Guildhall, new gilt. It added to the energy of his person, that one considered him acting so considerable a part in that very Hall, where so few years ago

one saw his father, Lord Kilmarnock, condemned to the block. The champion acted his part admirably, and dashed down his gauntlet with proud defiance. His associates, Lord Effingham, Lord Talbot, and the Duke of Bedford, were woeful; Lord Talbot piqued himself on backing his horse down the Hall, and not turning its rump towards the King, but he had taken such pains to dress it to that duty, that it entered backwards: and at his retreat the spectators clapped, a terrible indecorum, but suitable to such Bartholomew-fair doings. He had twenty *démêlés*, and came out of none creditably. He had taken away the table of the Knights of the Bath, and was forced to admit two in their old place, and dine the others in the Court of Requests. Sir William Stanhope said, 'We are ill-treated, for *some of us* are gentlemen.' Beckford told the Earl it was hard to refuse a table to the City of London, whom it would cost ten thousand pounds to banquet the King, and that his lordship would repent it, if they had not a table in the Hall; they had. To the barons of the Cinque-ports, who made the same complaint, he said, 'If you come to me as Lord Steward, I tell you, it is impossible; if as Lord Talbot, I am a match for any of you;' and then he said to Lord Bute, 'If I were a minister, thus I would talk to France, to Spain, to the Dutch — none of your half measures.'¹ He had not much more dignity than the figure of General Monk in the Abbey. . . . Well, it was all delightful, but not half so charming as its being over.

The English representatives of the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy appeared for the last time,² and with them the last relics of our dominion over France

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 437, 438, 440-445. The most 'diverting incident' of the day is told in iii. 440. See also the account by Bonnell Thornton in *Chapters*, pp. 185-192; and *Gent. Mag.* (1761), pp. 414-416. The Champion rode the white charger that carried George II. on the battlefield of Dettingen. (*Ann. Reg.* 1861, p. 232.)

² *Gent. Mag.*, 1761, p. 419. — They ranked before the Archbishop of Canterbury.

vanished.¹ Another incident, interpreted in a more ominous manner, was the fall of the largest jewel from the crown, which was afterwards believed to have foretold the loss of America.²

When Pitt resign'd, a nation's tears will own,
Then fell the brightest jewel of the crown.

Archbishop Secker, who officiated, had baptized, confirmed, and married the King. Bishop Drummond preached on 1 Kings x. 9. The princely style in which the young King seated himself after the ceremony attracted general notice. 'No actor in the character of Pyrrhus in the *Distrest Mother*' (says an eye-witness³), 'not even Booth himself, ever ascended the throne with so much grace and dignity.' It was also observed that as the King was about to receive the Holy Communion, he inquired of the Archbishop whether he should not lay aside his crown. The Archbishop asked the Dean of Westminster (Zachary Pearce) but neither knew, nor could say, what was the usual form.⁴ The King then took it off, saying, 'There ought to be one.' He wished the Queen to do the same, but the crown was fastened to her hair.⁵ It is not clearly known what George IV. and William IV. did ;⁶ but in the coronation of Queen Victoria, the Rubric ran, and doubtless henceforth will run, 'The Queen, taking off her crown, kneels down.'

But the most interesting peculiarity of George III.'s

¹ The claims of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster were made in *Old French and English*. (Chapter Book, July 31, 1761.)

² Hughes's *England*, xiv. 49; *Anecdotes of Chatham*, iii. 383.

³ *Life of Bishop Newton* (by himself), i. 84. He was Prebendary of Westminster at the time.

⁴ Maskell, iii. pp. li. and liii.

⁵ Hughes, xiv. 49.

⁶ The crown was worn at that part of the service by Henry VI. and Henry VIII., but was not worn by Charles II. (Maskell, iii. p. liii.)

coronation was the unseen attendance of the rival to the throne — Prince Charles Edward.¹ 'I asked my Lord Marshal,' says David Hume, 'the reason of this strange fact. "Ay," says he, "a gentleman told me so who saw him there, and whispered in his ear, 'Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here.' 'It was curiosity that led me,' said the other; 'but I assure you,' added he, 'that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and magnificence is the man I envy least.' "'²

34. The splendour of the coronation of George IV. has been described by Sir Walter Scott³ too fully to need repetition. Many smaller incidents still survive in the recollection of those who were present. The heat of the day and the fatigue of the ceremony almost exhausted the somewhat portly Prince, who was found cooling himself, stripped of all

¹ He was in London under the name of Mr. Brown. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1764, p. 24.) See also the scene in Westminster Hall, described in *Redgauntlet*.

² Hume, in *Gent. Mag.*, 1773.

³ See *Gent. Mag.*, 1821, pt. ii. pp. 104–110. The Duke of Wellington acted as Lord High Constable, Lord Anglesey as Lord High Steward. The banquet was celebrated, and the Champion then appeared, probably for the last time. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of York (Vernon), on the same text as that selected by Burnet for William III. (See p. 114.) The ceremony was rehearsed the week before in the Abbey and Hall. (*Ann. Register*, 1821, p. 344.) 'Amongst the feudal services the two falcons of the Duke of Atholl, for the Isle of Man, were conspicuous. Seated on the wrist of his hawking gauntlet, the beautiful Peregrine falcons appeared, with their usual ornaments. The King descended from his chair of state, and the ladies of the court pressed round to caress and examine the noble birds.' The claim had been made and conceded at the coronation of Charles II. The coronation oath was altered to meet the new phraseology introduced by the union with the Church of Ireland, destined to be again altered by the recent Act for dissolving it.

his robes, in the Confessor's Chapel, and at another part of the service was only revived by smelling salts accidentally provided by the Archbishop's secretary. During the long ceremony of the homage which he received with visible expressions of disgust or satisfaction, as the peers of the contending parties came up, he was perpetually wiping his streaming face with innumerable handkerchiefs, which he handed in rapid succession to the Primate, who stood beside him. The form of the coronation oath, on which so many political struggles hinged during this and the preceding reign, had been forgotten; and the omission could only be rectified by requesting the King to make his signature at the foot of the oath, as printed in the service book, which was accordingly enrolled, instead of the usual engrossment on vellum.¹

But the most remarkable feature of the day was that it furnished the materials for what was, in fact, a political battle between the King and his Queen, almost between the King and his people. 'Everyone went in the morning with very uncomfortable feelings and dread.'² On the one side the magnificence of the pageant, on the other side the failure of the ill-advised attempt of Queen Caroline to enter the Abbey, by a combination of feelings not altogether unusual, and not creditable to the judgment of the English people, produced a complete reaction in favour of the successful husband against the unsuccessful wife.³ The Queen, after vainly appealing to the Privy Council, to the

¹ I owe these incidents to various eyewitnesses, chiefly to Mr. Christopher Hodgson, then acting as secretary to Archbishop Sutton.

² *Life of Lord Eldon*, ii. 428.

³ In Secker's copy of the service of George III.'s coronation, used as the basis of that of George IV., the orders for the Queen's appearance were significantly erased throughout.

Prime Minister, and to the Earl Marshal, rashly determined to be present. At 6 o'clock on the morning of the day, she drove from South Audley Street to Dean's Yard.¹ Within the Precincts at that hour there were as yet but a few of the Abbey officials on the alert. One of them² was standing in the West Cloister when he saw the Queen approach, accompanied by Lord Hood. Just at the point where the Woodfall monument is now placed, they encountered a gentleman, in court costume, belonging to the opposite party, who hissed repeatedly in her face. Whilst Lord Hood motioned him aside with a deprecating gesture, she passed on into the North Cloister, and thence to the East Cloister door, the only one on that side available, where she was repulsed by two stalwart porters, who (in the absence of our modern police) were guarding the entrance. She then hastened back, and crossed the great platform in St. Margaret's Churchyard, erected for the outside procession. It was observed by those who watched her closely that her under lip quivered incessantly, the only mark of agitation. She thus reached³ the regular approach by Poets' Corner. Sir Robert Inglis, then a young man, was charged with the duty of keeping order at that point. He heard a cry that the Queen was coming. He flew (such was his account), rather than ran, to the door of the South Transept. She was leaning on Lord Hood's arm. He had but a moment to make up his mind how to meet her. 'It is my

Attempted
entrance of
Queen
Caroline.

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, 1824, pt. ii. p. 73; *Ann. Register*, 1831, p. 347.

² From this young official, for many years the respected organist of the Abbey, I derive this part of the narrative.

³ This is taken from Mr. Almack, who was on the platform, and followed her.

duty,' he said, 'to announce to your Majesty that there is no place in the Abbey prepared for your Majesty.' The Queen paused, and replied, 'Am I to understand that you prevent me from entering the Abbey?' 'Madam,' he answered, in the same words, 'it is my duty to announce to you that there is no place provided for your Majesty in the Abbey.' She turned without a word.¹ This was the final repulse. She who had come with deafening cheers retired in dead silence.² She was seen to weep as she re-entered³ her carriage. Her old coachman, it is said, had for the first time that morning harnessed the horses reluctantly, conscious that the attempt would be a failure. On the following day she wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Manners-Sutton), expressing her desire to be crowned some days after the King, and before the arrangements were done away with, so that there might be no additional expense. The Primate answered that he could not act except under orders from the King.⁴ In a few weeks she was dead; and her remains—carried with difficulty through the tumultuous streets of London, where the tide of popularity had again turned in her favour, and greeted with funeral welcomes at every halting-place in Germany—reposed finally, not in Windsor or Westminster, but in her ancestral vault at Brunswick.⁵

¹ I have given this account as I heard it from Sir R. Inglis. A longer narrative of the dialogue between Lord Hood and the door-keepers is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1821, pt. i. p. 74.

² Or with mingled cries of 'The Queen!—the Queen!' or 'Shame! shame!' (Ibid. p. 37.)

³ *Life of Lord Eldon*, ii. 428. ⁴ *Gent. Mag.*, 1821, pt. ii. p. 75.

⁵ It is recorded that the *town boys* of Westminster School first acquired at George IV.'s Coronation the privilege of attending, which had been before confined to the scholars.

35. As George IV. had conciliated the popular favour by the splendour of his coronation, so, in the impending tempests of the Reform agitation, William IV. endeavoured to do the like by the reverse process. A question was even raised, both by the King in correspondence¹ with his ministers, and by a peer in the House of Lords, whether the coronation might not be dispensed with. There was no procession, and the banquet, for the first time, was omitted. Queen Adelaide was crowned with her husband.² The day was the anniversary of her father's wedding.

Coronation of William IV., Thursday, Sept. 8, 1831.

36. The last coronation³ doubtless still lives in the recollection of all who witnessed it. They will long remember the early summer morning, when, at break of day, the streets were thronged, and the whole capital awake — the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant — the electric shock through the whole mass, when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way — and the thrill of expectation with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators, as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure,

Coronation of Queen Victoria, Thursday, June 28, 1838.

¹ *Correspondence of William IV. and Earl Grey*, i. 301, 302.

² *Gent. Mag.*, 1831, pp. 219–230; *Ann. Register*, 1831.

³ The coronation service was abridged, in consideration of the occasion. But it was thought unnecessary (as heretofore) to insert in the Rubric an order that the sermon should be 'short.' The day was changed from June 26 to June 28, to avoid the anniversary of George IV.'s death, and by so doing infringed on the Vigil of the Feast of St. Peter, which led to a characteristic sonnet from the Oxford Poet of that time — Isaac Williams. The procession was partly revived by the cavalcade from Buckingham Palace. The House of Commons joined for the first time in the ceremony, by nine loud and hearty cheers after the homage of the Peers. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1838, pt. ii. p. 198.)

marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her. At the moment when she first came within the full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands,—as she moved on, to her place by the altar,—as in the deep silence of the vast multitude, the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard, even to the remotest corners of the Choir, asking for the recognition,—as she sate immovable on the throne, when the crown touched her head, amidst shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon, there must have been many who felt a hope that the loyalty which had waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form than it had, perhaps, ever worn before.¹ Other solemnities they may have seen more beautiful, or more strange, or more touching, but none at once so gorgeous and so impressive, in recollections, in actual sight, and in promise of what was to be.

With this fairy vision ends for us the series of the most continuous succession of events that the Abbey has witnessed. None such belongs to any other building in the world. The coronations Conclusion. of the Kings of France at Reims, and of the Popes in the Basilica of the Vatican, most nearly approach it. But Reims is now deserted, and the present Church of St. Peter is by five centuries more modern than the Abbey. The Westminster Coronations are thus the

¹ For the best expression which has perhaps ever been given of the full religious aspect of an English Coronation, I cannot forbear to refer to the sermon preached on that day, in the parish church of Ambleside, by Dr. Arnold. (*Sermons*, iv. 438.) The 'short and suitable sermon' in the Abbey on the last two occasions was, in 1831 on 1 Pet. ii. 13, in 1838 on 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31, preached by Bishop Blomfield.

outward expression of the grandeur of the English monarchy. They serve to mark the various turns in the winding road along which it has passed to its present form. They reflect the various proportions in which its elective and its hereditary character have counterbalanced each other. They contain, on the one hand, in the Recognition, the Enthronisation, and the Oath, the utterances of the 'fierce democracy' of the people of England. They contain, on the other hand, in the Uction, the Crown, the Fatal Stone, in the sanction of the prelates and the homage of the nobles, the primitive regard for sacred places, sacred relics, consecrated persons, and heaven-descended right, lingering on through all the counteracting tendencies of change and time. They show the effect produced, even on minds and circumstances least congenial, by the combination of this sentiment with outward display and antique magnificence. They exhibit the curious devices, half political and half religious, by which new or unpopular sovereigns have been propped up—the Confessor's grave for William the Conqueror; the miraculous oil for Henry IV.; the Stone of Scone for Edward II., for James I., and for Oliver Cromwell; the unusual splendour for Richard III., for Anne Boleyn, and George IV.; the Oath and the Bible for William III. They show us the struggles for precedence, leading to outbreaks of the wildest passions, and the most deadly feuds between magnates not only of the State but of the clergy. The Norman Lanfranc aimed his heaviest blow at the Anglo-Saxon Church by wresting the coronation from Aldred of York. The supreme conflict of Becket resulted from the infringement of his archiepiscopal rights in the coronation of Prince Henry. The keenest insult that Laud could inflict on

his neighbour Williams was by superseding him at the coronation of Charles I. Queen Caroline sank under her exclusion from the coronation of George IV.

The Coronation Service — at once the most ancient and the most flexible portion of the Anglican Ritual — reveals the changes of ceremony and doctrine, and at the same time the unity of sentiment and faith, which escape us in the stiffer forms of the ordinary Liturgy. In its general structure it represents the complex relations of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of England. In its varying details it exhibits the combination of the opposite elements which have formed the peculiar tone of the English Church.

The personal characters of the sovereigns make themselves felt even in these merely ceremonial functions : — the iron nerves of the Conqueror for an instant shaken ; the generosity of Cœur-de-Lion ; the martial spirit of Edward I. ; the extravagance of Richard II. ; the parsimony of Henry VII. ; the timidity of James I. ; the fancifulness of Charles I. ; the decorous reverence of George III. ; the heartlessness of George IV. The political and religious movements of the time have likewise stamped their mark on these transitory scenes. The struggles of the Saxon and Norman elements, not yet united, under the Conqueror ; the fanatical hatred against the Jews, under Richard I. ; the jealousy of the Crown under John, and of the Court favourites under Edward II. ; the claims of the conflicting dynasties under Edward IV. and Henry VII. ; the heavings of the Reformation under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth ; the prognostications of the Rebellion under Charles I. ; the enthusiasm of the Restoration under Charles II. ; the triumph of the Constitution under William III. ; the economical spirit of the Reform era under William IV. ;

— could be noted in the successive inaugurations of those sovereigns, even though all other records of their reigns were lost.

Yet still the Coronations are but as the outward wave of English history. They break over the Abbey, as they break over the country, without leaving any permanent mark. With the two exceptions of the Stone of Scone and the banners of the Knights of the Bath, they left no trace in the structure of the building, unless where the scaffolding has torn away the feature of some honoured monument or the decoration of some ancient column. They belong to the form of the history, and not to its substance. The truth of the saying of Horace Walpole at the Coronation of George III. will probably be always felt at the time. 'What is the finest sight in the world? A Coronation. What do people most talk about? A Coronation. What is the thing most delightful to have passed? A Coronation.'¹ But there are scenes more moving than the most splendid pageant, and there are incidents in the lives of sovereigns more characteristic of themselves and of their country even than their inaugurations. Such is the next series of events in the Abbey, which, whilst it exhibits to us far more clearly the personal traits of the Kings themselves, has also entered far more deeply into the vitals of the edifice. The close of each reign is the summary of the contents of each. The History of the Royal Tombs is the History of the Abbey itself.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 444.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

I HAVE left the repository of our English Kings for the contemplation of a day when I shall find my mind disposed for so serious an amusement. (*Spectator*, No. 26.)

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

BESIDES the notices in contemporary Chronicles and Histories, must be mentioned —

- I. The architectural descriptions of the Tombs in Dart, Neale, and Scott's *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*.
- II. The notices of the Interments and of the Royal Vaults in — (a) The Burial Registers of the Abbey from 1606 to the present time; (b) Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, 1677; (c) *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, by H. K., i. e. Keepe, 1683; (d) *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, by Crull — sometimes under the name of H. S., sometimes of J. C., — 1711 and 1713; (e) MS. Records of the Heralds' College and the Lord Chamberlain's Office, to which my attention has been called by the kindness of Mr. Doyne Bell, who is engaged in a work on the 'Royal Interments,' which will bring to light many curious and exact details, not hitherto known respecting them. See also Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

THE burialplaces of Kings are always famous. The oldest and greatest buildings on the earth are Tombs of Kings — the Pyramids. The most wonderful revelation of the life of the ancient ^{Tombs of Kings.} world is that which is painted in the rock-hewn catacombs of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The burial of the Kings of Judah was a kind of canonisation. In the vision of 'all the Kings of the nations, lying in glory, every one in his own house,' the ancient prophets saw the august image of the nether world.

These burialplaces, however, according to the universal practice of antiquity, were mostly outside the precincts of the towns. The sepulchre of the race of David within the city of Jerusalem formed a solitary exception. The Roman Emperors were interred first in the mausoleum of Augustus, in the Campus Martius, beyond the walls — then in the mausoleum of Hadrian, on the farther side of the Tiber. The burial of Geta at the foot of the Palatine, and of Trajan at the base of his Column, in the Forum which bears his name, were the first indications that the sanctity of the city might be invaded by the presence of imperial graves. It was reserved for Constantine to give the earliest example of the interment of sovereigns, not only within the walls of a city, but within a sacred building, when he and his

successors were laid in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. This precedent was from that time followed both in East and West, and every European nation has now its royal consecrated cemetery.

But there are two peculiarities in Westminster which are hardly found elsewhere. The first is that it unites the Coronations with the Burials. The nearest approach to this is in Poland and Russia. In the cathedral of Cracow, by the shrine of St. Stanislaus, the Becket of the Slavonic races, the Kings of Poland were crowned and buried from the thirteenth century to the dissolution of the kingdom.¹ In the Kremlin

Peculiarities
of the Royal
Tombs in
West-
minster.

at Moscow stand side by side the three cathedrals of the Assumption, of the Annunciation, and of the Archangel. In the first the Czars are crowned; in the second they are married; and in the third, till the accession of Peter, they were buried. Only three royal marriages have taken place in the

1. Com-
bination of
Coronations
with
Burials.

Abbey — those of Henry III., of Richard II., and of Henry VII. But its first coronation, as we have seen,² sprang out of its first royal grave. Its subsequent burials are the result of both. So Waller finely sang:

That antique pile behold,
Where royal heads receive the sacred gold:
It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep,
There made like gods, like mortals there they sleep;
Making the circle of their reign complete,
These suns of empire, where they rise they set.³

So Jeremy Taylor preached:

Where our kings have been crowned, their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grandsire's head to

¹ See Mr. Clark's description of it in *Vacation Tourists*, 1862, p. 239.

² Chapter II.

³ On *St. James's Park*.

take his crown. There is an acre sown with royal seed, the copy of the greatest change, from rich to naked, from ceiled roofs to arched coffins, from living like gods to die like men. . . . There the warlike and the peaceful, the fortunate and the miserable, the beloved and the despised princes mingle their dust, and pay down their symbol of mortality, and tell all the world that, when we die, our ashes shall be equal to kings', and our accounts easier, and our pains or our crowns shall be less.¹

So, before Waller and Jeremy Taylor, had spoken Francis Beaumont:

Mortality, behold and fear!
 What a change of flesh is here:
 Think how many royal bones
 Sleep within these heaps of stones:
 Here they lye, had realms and lands,
 Who now want strength to stir their hands.
 Here, from their pulpits seal'd with dust,
 They preach, 'In greatness is no trust!'
 Here 's an acre, sown indeed,
 With the richest royallest seed,
 That the earth did e'er drink in,
 Since the first man dy'd for sin.
 Here the bones of birth have cry'd,
 'Though gods they were, as men they dy'd.'
 Here are sands, ignoble things,
 Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings.
 Here 's a world of pomp and state,
 Buried in dust, once dead by fate.

The royal sepultures of Westminster were also remarkable from their connection not only with the coronation, but with the residence of the English Princes. The burialplaces which, in this respect, the Abbey most resembles, were those of the Kings of Spain and the Kings of

² Combination of the Burials with the Royal Palace.

¹ *Rules of Holy Dying*, vol. iv. p. 344.

Scotland. 'In the Escorial, where the Spanish princes live in greatness and power, and decree war or peace, they have wisely placed a cemetery, where their ashes and their glory shall sleep till time shall be no more.'¹ The like may be said of Dunfermline and of Holyrood, where the sepulchral Abbey and the Royal Palace are as contiguous as at Westminster. There has, however, been a constant tendency to separate the two. The Escorial is now almost as desolate as the stony wilderness of which it forms a part. The vault of the House of Hapsburg, in the Capuchin Church at Vienna, is far removed from the Imperial Palace. The royal race of Savoy rests on the steep heights of St. Michael and of the Superga. The early Kings of Ireland reposed in the now deserted mounds of Clonmacnoise,² by the lonely windings of the Shannon, as the early Kings of Scotland on the distant and sea-girt rock of Iona. The Kings of France not only were not crowned at St. Denys, but they never lived there — never came there. The town was a city of convents. Louis XIV. chose Versailles for his residence, because from the terrace at St. Germain's he could still see the hated towers of the Abbey where he would be laid. But the Kings of England never seem to have feared the sight of death. The Anglo-Saxon Kings had for the most part been buried at Winchester, where they were crowned, and where they lived. The English Kings, as soon as they became truly English, were crowned, and lived, and

¹ Jeremy Taylor, *Rules of Holy Dying*, vol. iv. 344.

² 'How impressive the living splendour of the national mausoleum of England on the banks of the Thames, as compared with the neglected graveyard which holds the best blood of Ireland on the banks of the Shannon.' Petrie's remarks on Clonmacnoise, quoted in his *Life* by Dr. Stokes (p. 33).

died for many generations, at Westminster; and, even since they have been interred elsewhere, it is still under the shadow of their grandest royal residence, in St. George's Chapel, or in the precincts of Windsor Castle. Their graves, like their thrones, were in the midst of their own life and of the life of their people.¹

There is also a peculiar concentration of interest attached to the deaths and funerals of Kings in those days of our history with which we are here chiefly concerned. If the coronations of sovereigns were then far more important than they are now, so were their funeral pageants. 'The King never dies' is a constitutional maxim of which, except in very rare instances, the truth is at once recognised in all constitutional and in most modern monarchies. But in the Middle Ages, as has been truly remarked, the very reverse was the case. 'When the King died, the State seemed to die also. The functions of government were suspended. Felons were let loose from prison; for an offence against the law was also an offence against the King's person, which might die with him, or be wiped out in the contrite promises of his last agony.'² The spell of the King's peace became powerless. The nobles rushed to avenge their private quarrels in private warfare. On the royal forests, with their unpopular game, a universal attack was made. The highroads of commerce became peril-

3. Importance of the Royal Deaths.

¹ See Chapter IV.

² So William I: 'Sicut opto salvari et per misericordiam Dei a meis reatibus absolvi, sic omnes mox carceres jubeo aperiri.' (*Ordericus Vit.*) Henry II.'s widow, 'for the sake of the soul of her Lord Henry,' had offenders of all kinds discharged from prison in every county in England. (*Hoveden.*) I owe these references, as well as the passage itself, to an unpublished lecture of Professor Vaughan. Compare the description of Rome after a pope's decease in Mr. Cartwright's *Papal Conclaves*, p. 42.

ous passes, or were obstructed; and a hundred vague schemes of ambition were concocted every day during which one could look on an empty throne and powerless tribunals.' In short, the funeral of the sovereign was the eclipse of the monarchy. Twice only, perhaps, in modern times has this feeling in any degree been reproduced, and then not in the case of the actual sovereign: once on the death of the queenlike Princess, Charlotte; and again on the death of the kinglike Prince, Albert.

In those early times of England, there was another meaning of more sinister import attached to the royal funerals. They furnished the security to the successor that the predecessor was really dead. Till the time of Henry VII. the royal corpses lay in state, and were carried exposed on biers, to satisfy this popular demand. More than once the body of a King, who had died under doubtful circumstances, was laid out in St. Paul's or the Abbey, with the face exposed, or bare from the waist upwards, that the suspicion of violence might be dispelled.¹

There was yet beyond this a general sentiment, intensified by the religious feeling of the Middle Ages, which brought the funerals and tombs of princes more directly into connection with the buildings where they were interred. The natural grief of a sovereign, or of a people, for the death of a beloved predecessor vents itself in the grandeur of the monuments which it raises over their graves. The sumptuous shrine on the coast of Caria, which Artemisia built for her husband Mausolus, and which has given its name to all similar structures —

4. Publicity
of the
Funerals.

5. Con-
nection of
the Burials
with the
Services
of the
Church.

¹ Richard II., Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. (at Leicester). (Maskell, vol. iii. p. lxviii.)

the magnificent Taj at Agra — the splendid memorials which commemorate the loss of the lamented Prince of our own day — are examples of the universality of this feeling, when it has the opportunity of indulging itself, under every form of creed and climate. But in the Middle Ages this received an additional impulse, from the desire on the part of the Kings, or their survivors, to establish, through their monumental buildings and their funeral services, a hold, as it were, on the other world. The supposed date of the release of the soul of a Plantagenet King from Purgatory was recorded in the English chronicles with the same certainty as any event in his life.¹ And to attain this end — in proportion to the devotional sentiment, sometimes we must even say in proportion to the weaknesses and vices, of the King — services were multiplied and churches adorned at every stage of the funeral, and with a view to the remotest ages to which hope or fear could look forward. The desire to catch prayers by all means, at all times and places, for the departed soul, even led to the dismemberment of the royal corpse; that so, by a heart here, entrails there, and the remainder elsewhere, the chances of assistance beyond the grave might be doubled or trebled.²

The sepulchral character of Westminster Abbey thus became the frame on which its very structure depended. In its successive adornments and enlargements, the minds of its royal patrons sought their permanent expression, because they regarded it as enshrining the supreme act of their lives. The arrangements of an

¹ Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, A. D. 1232 (in speaking of the vision of the release of Richard I. described by the Bishop of Rochester, in preaching at Sittingbourne). I owe the reference to Professor Vaughan.

² *Arch.* xxix. 181.

ancient temple were, as has been well remarked, from its sacrificial purpose, those of a vast slaughter-house; the arrangements of a Dominican church or modern Nonconformist chapel are those of a vast preaching-house; the arrangements of Westminster Abbey gradually became those of a vast tomb-house.

The first beginning of the Royal Burials at Westminster is uncertain. Sebert and Ethelgoda were believed

Sebert and Ethelgoda. to lie by the entrance of the Chapter House.¹

Harold Harefoot. A faint tradition speaks of the interment of

Harold Harefoot. Harold Harefoot in Westminster.² But his body was dug up by Hardicanute, decapitated, and afterwards cast into the adjacent marsh or into the Thames, and then buried by the Danes in their graveyard, where now stands the Church of St.

Edward the Confessor. Clement Danes. It was the grave of Edward

the Confessor which eventually drew the other royal sepulchres around it.³ Such a result of the burial of a royal saint or hero has been almost universal. But though his charters enumerate the royal sepultures as amongst the privileges of Westminster, the custom

William the Conqueror at Caen. grew but slowly. In the first instance, it may have indicated no more than his personal

William Rufus at Winchester. desire to be interred in the edifice whose building he had watched with so much anxious care; and his Norman successors were buried on the

¹ See Chapter I.

² *Saxon Chron.* A. D. 1040: Widmore, p. 11.

³ So the grave of St. Columba at Iona, and the grave of St. Margaret at Dunfermline, became the centres of the sepultures of the Kings of Scotland; so the interment of William the Silent by the accidental scene of his murder at Delft drew round it the great Protestant House of Orange; so round St. Louis at St. Denys gathered the Kings of France; so round St. Stanislaus at Cracow the Kings of Poland; so round Peter the Great at St. Petersburg the subsequent princes of the Romanoff dynasty.

same principle, each in his own favourite sanctuary, unless some special cause intervened. The Conqueror was buried at Caen, in the abbey which he had dedicated to St. Stephen; William Rufus at Winchester,¹ from his sudden death in the neighbouring forest; Henry I. at Reading, in the abbey founded out of his father's treasure for his father's soul; Stephen in his abbey at Faversham; Henry II.² in the great Angevin Abbey of Fontevrault (the foundation of Robert Arbrissel, by the 'fountain of the robber Evrard'). His eldest son Henry was buried at Rouen. In that same city, because it was so *hearty* and *cordial* to him,³ was laid the 'large⁴ lion heart' of Richard; whilst his bowels, as his least honoured parts, lay among the Poitevins, whom he least honoured, at Chaluz, where he was killed. But his body rested at Fontevrault, at his father's feet, in token of sorrow for his unfilial conduct, to be, as it were, his father's footstool⁵ — in the robes which he had worn at his second coronation at Westminster.⁶ John's wife, Isabella, was interred at Fontevrault,⁷ and his own heart was placed

Henry I. at
Reading.
Stephen at
Faversham.
Henry II. at
Fontevrault.
Richard I.
at Fonte-
vrault.

John at
Worcester.

¹ *Ord. Vit.* (A. D. 1110), x. 14, by a confusion makes it Westminster.

² *Rishanger*, p. 428; *Hoveden*, p. 654.

³ *Fuller's Church History*, A. D. 1189.

⁴ *Grossitudine præstans*. See *Arch.* xxix. 210.

⁵ In a work published at Angers in 1866 (*L'Abbaye de Fontevrault, Notice Historique*, p. 76), by Lieut. Malifand, it is stated that the bones of Richard I., gathered together by an inhabitant of Fontevrault, on the spoliation of the tombs in 1793, were given to England, '*et reposent aujourd'hui dans l'Abbaye de Westminster*.' This is without foundation. The heart, under an effigy of the King, was found in the choir of Rouen Cathedral on July 31, 1838, and is now in the Museum at Rouen. (*Archæologia*, xxix. 203.) The body of Prince Henry was found there in 1866.

⁶ *Anglia Sacra*, i. 304. See Chapter II.

⁷ For a full account of the fate of the monuments at Fontevrault down to the present time, see M. Malifand's work, pp. 76, 77.

there in a golden cup; but he himself was laid at Worcester, for a singularly characteristic reason. With that union of superstition and profaneness so common in the religious belief of the Middle Ages, he was anxious to elude after death the demons whom he had so faithfully served in life. For this purpose he not only gave orders to wrap his body in a monk's cowl, but to bury it between two saints. The royal cathedral of Worcester, which John had specially favoured in life, possessed two Saxon saints, in close juxtaposition; and between these two, Wulfstan and Oswald, the wicked King was laid.

But meanwhile an irresistible instinct had been drawing the Norman princes towards the race of their English subjects, and therefore towards the dust of the last Saxon King. Along with the annual commemoration of the victory of the Normans at Hastings, and of the Danes at Assenden, were celebrated in the Abbey the anniversaries of Emma,¹ the Confessor's mother, and of Ethelred his father. Edith, his wife, 'of venerable memory,' lay beside him. And now to join them came the 'good Queen Maud,' daughter of Queen Maud. Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, and thus niece of Edgar and granddaughter of Edward Atheling, who had awakened in the heart of Henry I. a feeling towards her Anglo-Saxon kinsfolk such as no other of the Conqueror's family had known. The importance of the marriage is indicated by the mass of elaborate scruples that had to be set aside to accomplish it. She, a veiled nun, had become a wedded wife for this great

¹ *Consuetudines* of Abbot Ware (pp. 566, 568, 582, 583, 587, 590). These celebrations may have been instituted only in the time of Henry III., but they are probably of earlier date. Edith is called 'Collaterana uxor.'

object. It was supposed to be a fulfilment of the Confessor's last prophetic apologue, in which he described the return of the severed branch to the parent tree.¹ Henry's own sepulchral abbey at Reading was built by him chiefly to expiate his father's sins against the English.² His royal chapel at Windsor bore the name of the Confessor, till it was dedicated by Edward III. to St. George.³ He and she received from the Normans the derisive epithets of 'Goodric' and 'Godiva.'⁴ Her own name was Edith,⁵ after her grand-aunt, the Confessor's wife. In deference to Norman prejudices she changed it to 'Matilda.' But she devoted herself with undisguised ardour to the Abbey where her kinsman Edward and her namesake Edith lay buried. Often she came there, in haircloth and barefooted, to pay her devotions.⁶ She increased its relics by the gift of a large part of the hair of Mary Magdalene.⁷ The honour of her sepulture was claimed by the old Anglo-Saxon sanctuary at Winchester,⁸ by the Abbey of Reading,⁹ and by the Cathedral of St. Paul's.¹⁰ But there is no reason to doubt the tradition that May 1, 1118. she lies on the south side of the Confessor's Shrine,¹¹

¹ See Chapters I. and III.

² Rudborne, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 262.

³ *Annals of Windsor*, p. 27.

⁴ See William of Malmesbury, p. 156. Knyghton, c. 2375, says Henry's nickname was 'Godrych Godefadyr.'

⁵ *Ord. Vit.* A. D. 1118. Her brothers, in like manner, had almost all Saxon names — Edgar, Edward, Ethelred.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 712. See Chapter I.

⁷ *Dart*, i. 37; Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, pp. 480, 642.

⁸ Rudborne, p. 277.

⁹ Strickland's *Queens*, i. 187.

¹⁰ Langtoft (Wright), i. 462.

¹¹ *Waverley Ann.*; *Ord. Vit.* A. D. 1118. — The statement is that she was first buried at the entrance of the Chapter House, and then removed by Henry III. to the side of the Confessor's Shrine. Fordun gives it as 'post magnum altare in oratorio.' It has sometimes been alleged, in confirmation of this, that at the north-west angle of the

and is thus the first royal personage so interred since the troubles of the Conquest.¹

Henry II. carried the veneration for Edward's remains a step farther. At the instigation of Becket, he procured from Pope Alexander II. the Bull of Canonisation, which Innocent II. had refused.² The Abbot Lawrence preached a sermon, enumerating the virtues and miracles of the Confessor. Osbert de Clare, the Prior, who had already made an unsuccessful expedition to Rome for the same object, under his predecessor Gervase, compiled the account out of which was ultimately composed the Life of the Confessor by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, and brought back the Bull of Canonisation in triumph. At midnight on the

First translation of Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13, 1163.

13th of October, 1163, Lawrence, in his new-born dignity of mitred Abbot, accompanied by Becket, opened the grave before the high altar, and saw—it was said, in complete preservation—the body of the dead King. Even the long, white, curling beard was still visible. The ring of St. John was taken out and deposited as a relic.³ The vestments (with less reverence than we should think permissible) were turned into three splendid copes. An

pavement, by Edward I.'s tomb, was read the word *Regina*, and that she was laid underneath the pavement on which his tomb was afterwards raised. But the inscription is (as I have ascertained by careful examination) a mere fragment of a slab removed from elsewhere, to make the covering of what is evidently the mere substructure of Edward I.'s tomb; and the words upon it are *MINIS. REGINI*—a portion of a broken inscription. But the statement of Abbot Ware (*Consuetudines*, p. 566), that Matilda was on the *south* and Edith on the *north* side of the Shrine is decisive both as to the fact and the position of the grave. See also Smith's *Westminster*, p. 155.

¹ The anniversary of her daughter, the Empress Maude, was celebrated in the Abbey. (Ware, p. 568.)

² See Akerman, i. 109.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 132.

Irishman and a clerk from Winchester were cured of some malady, supposed to be demoniacal possession. The whole ceremony ended with the confirmation of the celebrated Gilbert Folliott as Bishop of London.¹

The final step was taken by Henry III. It may be that the idea of making the Shrine of Edward the centre of the burialplace of his race did not occur to him till after he had already become interested in the building. His first work — what was called ‘the new work’ — was not the church itself, but an addition suggested by the general theological sentiment of the time. The beginning of the thirteenth century was remarkable for the immense development given, by the preaching of St. Bernard, to the worship of the Virgin Mary.² In architecture it was exhibited by the simultaneous prolongation of almost every great cathedral into an eastern sanctuary, a new place of honour behind the altar, ‘the Lady Chapel.’³

Foundation
of the Lady
Chapel,
May 16,
1220.

Such a chapel was dedicated at the eastern extremity of the Abbey by the young King Henry III., on Whitsun Eve,⁴ the day before his coronation. The first offering laid upon its altar were the spurs worn by the King in that ceremony.⁵ Underneath was buried Abbot Barking, who probably claimed the merit of having been his adviser. His abbacy was long regarded in the convent as the passage from an old world to a new.⁶

¹ Ridgway, p. 44. — He was translated from Hereford, the first instance of a canonical translation of an English bishop. (Le Neve's *Fasti*, ii. 282.)

² Montalembert's *Histoire de Ste. Elisabeth*, p. 21. — The girdle of the Virgin deposited in the Abbey (see Chapter I.) was, like that at Mount Athos, used for averting the perils of childbirth, and was often employed for that purpose by Queen Philippa. (Widmore, p. 65.)

³ See Chap. II.

⁴ Pauli, i. 517.

⁵ See Chapter V.

Henry's long reign was a marked epoch, alike for England and for the Abbey. It was the first which can be called pacific,¹ partly from his defects, partly from his virtues. He was the first English King — that is to say (like George III.) the first of his family born in England and no longer living in a continental dependency. This great boon of a race of Princes who could look on England as their home, had been conferred on our Kings and on our country by the losses of his father, John 'Lackland.'

Sterile and obscure as is that portion of our annals, it is there that we must seek for the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory. Then it was that the great English people was formed, that the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has ever since retained, and that our fathers became emphatically islanders — islanders not merely in geographical position, but in their politics, their feelings, and their manners. Then first appeared with distinctness that Constitution which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; that Constitution of which all the other free constitutions in the world are copies, and which, in spite of some defects, deserves to be regarded as the best under which any great society has ever yet existed during many ages. Then it was that the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the Old or in the New World, held its first sittings. Then it was that the Common Law rose to the dignity of a science, and rapidly became a not unworthy rival of the imperial jurisprudence. Then it was that the courage of those sailors who manned the rude barks of the Cinque Ports first made the flag of England terrible on the seas. Then it was that the most ancient colleges which still exist at both the great national

¹ This is well brought out in Rogers's *History of Prices*, i. 3.

seats of learning were founded. Then was formed that language, less musical indeed than the languages of the South, but in force, in richness, in aptitude for all the highest purposes of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator, inferior to that of Greece alone. Then appeared the first faint dawn of that noble literature, the most splendid and the most durable of the many glories of England.¹

Then too arose, in its present or nearly in its present form, the building which was destined to combine all these together, the restored Abbey of Westminster — ‘the most lovely and loveable thing in Christendom.’² It sprang, in the first instance, out of the personal sentiment, unconsciously fostered by ^{English feelings of} Henry III. these general influences, of the young King towards his Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Henry prided himself on his descent from Alfred, through the good Matilda. He determined to take up his abode in Westminster, beside the Confessor’s tomb. In the Abbey was solemnised his own marriage with Eleanor of Provence, as well as that of his³ brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, with his second wife Sanda, sister of Eleanor, — and of⁴ his second son Edward, Earl of Lancaster, to Avelina, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle. His sons were the first of the English Princes who were called by Anglo-Saxon names. His first-born — the first Prince ever born at Westminster, and therefore called, after it, Edward of Westminster⁵ — received his name from

¹ Macaulay’s *History of England*, vol. i. p. 47.

² So called by one well qualified to judge, Mr. Street (*Essay on the Influence of Foreign Art on English Architecture in the Church and the World*, p. 402).

³ Nov. 22 or 23, 1243; Rot. Parl. 28 Hen. III.

⁴ April 9, 1269, Harl. MS. 530, fol. 60.

⁵ He was sometimes called Edward III., reckoning Edward the Elder and Edward the Confessor as the first and second. (*Opus Chronicorum*, p. 37.)

the Anglo-Saxon patron of Westminster; and was the first of that long series of 'Edwards,' which, though broken now and then by the necessities of intervening dynasties, is the one royal name that constantly reappears to assert its unchanging hold on the affections of the English people. His second son was in like manner named Edmund, after the other royal Anglo-Saxon saint, in whose abbey the King himself died, and to whom he had in life paid reverence only second to that due to St. Edward.

The concentration of this English Edwardian passion upon the Abbey of Westminster was encouraged by many converging circumstances in the reign of Henry III. It is possible that, as the visit of the Saxon ambassadors to Reims may have led to the first idea of a Royal Abbey in the mind of the Confessor, so the rebuilding and re-embellishment of the Abbey of St. Denys by Louis IX. suggested the idea of a place of royal sepulture to the mind of Henry III.¹ Before that time the Kings of France, like the Kings of England, had been buried in their own private vaults; thenceforth they were buried round the tomb of Dagobert.

Again the erection of a new and splendid Church was the natural product of Henry's passionate devotion to sacred observances, strong out of all proportion to the natural feebleness of his character. Even St. Louis seemed to him but a lukewarm Rationalist. He kept the French peers in Paris so long waiting, by stopping to hear mass at every church he passed, that Louis caused all the churches on the road to be shut. When in France, he lived not in

¹ This rivalry with St. Denys appears in his anxiety to outdo it by the relic of the Holy Blood. (Matthew Paris, p. 735.)

the royal palace, but in a monastery. On Henry's declaring that he could not stay in a place which was under an interdict, the French King complained, and added, 'You ought to hear sermons, as well as attend mass.'¹ 'I had rather see my friend than hear him talked about,'² was the reply of the enthusiastic Henry. He would not be content with less than three³ masses a day, and held fast to the priest's hand during the service.⁴

With this English and devotional sentiment the King combined a passionate addiction to art in all its forms, which carried him far beyond the limits of his own country. His visits to France recalled to him the glories of Amiens, Beauvais, and Reims.⁵ His marriage with Eleanor⁶ of Provence opened the door for the influx of foreign princes, ecclesiastics, and artists into London. The Savoy Palace was their centre.

Of this union of religious feeling with foreign and artistic tendencies, the whole Abbey, as rebuilt by Henry, is a monument. He determined that his new Church was to be incomparable for beauty, even in that great age of art.⁷ Its Chapter House, its ornaments, down to the lecterns, were to be superlative of their kind. On it foreign painters and sculptors

¹ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75; Trivet, p. 280. (Pauli, i. 842.)

² Rishanger and Trivet, *ibid.* — The author of the *Opus Chronicorum* (p. 36) gives this as Henry's reply to a preaching friar, who was angry at the King's delay in coming to his sermon.

³ Four or five. (*Opus Chronicorum*, p. 35.)

⁴ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75.

⁵ *Gleanings*, 20.

⁶ The arms of her father, the Earl of Provence, are sculptured in the south aisle of the Nave, and were painted in the windows of the Chapter-house and elsewhere. (Sandford, 95.)

⁷ Wykes, p. 84. See Chapter V. 'Miræ pulchritudinis' is the phrase used of it in a document in the Archives of St. Paul's.

were invited to spend their utmost skill. 'Peter the Roman citizen' was set to work on the Shrine, where his name can still be read. The mosaics were from Rome, brought by the Abbot, who now by his newly-won exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of London had been forced to make his journey to the imperial city for the sake of obtaining the Papal confirmation.¹ The pavement thus formed and the twisted columns which stand round the Shrine, exactly resemble the like ornaments of the same date, in the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, St. Paul, St. Laurence, and St. Clement at Rome. Mosaics and enamel were combined throughout in a union found nowhere else in England. Many of the details of the tombs of Henry III. and Edward the Confessor are strictly classical. The architectural style of this portion of the building is French rather than English. The radiation of the polygonal chapels round the Choir and the bar tracery of the windows are especially French.² The arrangement to which the King was driven, perhaps, from the necessity of providing space for the new Shrine, is Spanish.³ Eleanor of Castile, his daughter-in-law, must have recognised in the Choir, brought far into the Nave, the likeness of the 'Coro' in the cathedrals of her native country.

In the prosecution of his work another less pleasing feature of the King's character was brought into play.

His extra-
vagance. He was a Prince of almost proverbial extravagance. His motto was, 'Qui non dat quod

¹ See Chapter V. ; *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*, p. 60 ; and Ferguson's *Handbook*, ii. 18.

² See *Gleanings*, pp. 19-24 ; and Mr. Street, *On the Influence of Foreign Art in England*, p. 402.

³ Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, p. 418.

habet, non accipit ille quod optat.'¹ Recklessly did he act on this principle always, and never more so than in erecting the Abbey. Unlike most cathedrals, it was built entirely at the cost of the Crown. The Royal Abbey, as in the Confessor's time so in Henry's, is absolutely a royal gift. The sums, in our money amounting to half-a-million, were snatched here and there, from high quarters or from low, with desperate avidity. There was a special office for the receipts. The widow of a Jew furnished £2590;² the vacancy of the Abbot's seat at Westminster 100 marks. A fair was established in Tothill Fields, with a monopoly for this sole purpose. The King himself took out of other abbeys what he had spent on Westminster, by living on them to ease the expenses of his own maintenance,³ and again took from the Abbey itself the jewels which he had given to it, and pawned them for his own necessities. The enormous exactions have left their lasting traces on the English Constitution, in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the King's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts.⁴

The rise of the whole institution thus forms a new epoch at once in English history and English architecture. With the usual disregard which each generation, in the Middle Ages far more than in our own, entertains towards the taste of those who have gone before, the massive venerable pile, consecrated by the recollections of the Confessor

Demolition
of the Old
Church,
1245.

¹ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (Wornum), p. 20; Hardy, Preface to the *Liberate Rolls of King John*, xii. note (1).

² Akerman, i. 241.

³ Fuller, book iii.; *Arch.* xiii. 36, 37.

⁴ See Chapter V.

and the Conqueror, was torn down, as of no worth at all, 'nullius omnino valoris.'¹

Ecclesiam stravit istam qui tunc renovavit,

was the inscription once written on Henry's tomb, which described this mediæval vandalism. The New Church. He rebuilt exactly as far as the Confessor had built. A fragment of the nave alone was left standing. But the central tower, the choir, the transepts, the cloisters, all disappeared;² and in their place arose a building, which the first founder would as little have recognised, as the Norman style would have been recognised by Sebert, or the style of Wren by the Plantagenets.

It was a 'new minster,'³ of which St. Edward became the patron saint, almost to the exclusion of The Shrine of the Confessor. St. Peter.⁴ For him the Shrine was prepared as the centre of all this magnificence. It was erected, like all the shrines of great local saints, at the east of the altar, by a new and strange arrangement, as peculiar to the thirteenth century as the numerous theological doctrines which then first assumed consistency and shape. But, in order to leave standing the Lady Chapel, which the King had already built in his youth, the high altar was moved westward to its present central position. A mound of earth, the last funeral 'tumulus' in England, was erected between this and the Lady Chapel, and on its summit was raised the tomb in which the body of the Confessor was to

¹ Wykes, p. 89.

² Matthew Paris, p. 661. The end of Henry III.'s work can be traced immediately at the west of the crossing. *Gleanings*, 31.

³ Capgrave, p. 89.

⁴ Redman's *Henry V.*, p. 69; Smith's *Westminster*, p. 60.

be laid.¹ On each side, standing on the two twisted pillars which now support the western end of the Shrine, were statues of the Confessor and St. John as the mysterious pilgrim. Round the Choir was hung arras, representing on one side the thief and Hugolin, on the other the royal coronations.² The top of the Shrine was doubtless adorned with a splendid tabernacle, instead of the present woodwork. The lower part was rich with gilding and colours. The inscription, now detected only at intervals, ran completely round it, ascribing the workmanship to Peter of Rome, and celebrating the Confessor's virtues. The arches underneath were ready for the patients, who came to ensconce themselves there for the sake of receiving from the sacred corpse within the deliverance from the 'King's Evil,' which the living sovereign was believed³ to communicate by his touch. An altar stood at its western end, of which all trace has disappeared, but for which a substitute has ever since existed, at the time of the Coronations, in a wooden movable table.⁴ At the eastern end of the Shrine two steps still remain, deeply hollowed out by the knees of the successive pairs of pilgrims who knelt at that spot.⁵

¹ Originally the Shrine was probably visible all down the church. Not till the time of Henry VI. was raised the screen which now conceals it. On the summit of the screen stood a vast crucifix, with the usual accompanying figures, and those of the two Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. See *Gleanings*, plates xx. and xxvii.

² Till 1644. Weever, p. 45.

³ This was the one remark made on the Shrine by Addison — 'We were then shown Edward the Confessor's tomb, upon which Sir Roger acquainted us that he was the first who touched for the Evil.' (*Spectator*, 321.)

⁴ Dart, i. 54.

⁵ A fragment of the Shrine, found in repairing the walls of Westminster school in 1868, was replaced in its original position, after a separation of three centuries.

That corpse was now to be 'translated' from the coffin in which Henry II. had laid it, with a pomp which was probably suggested to the King by the recollection of the grandest ceremony of the kind that England had ever seen, at which he in his early boyhood had assisted — the translation of the remains of St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹ It was on the same day of the month that had witnessed the former removal on the occasion of Edward's canonisation. The King had lived to see the completion of the whole Choir and east end of the church. He was growing old. His family were all gathered round him, as round a Christmas hearth,² for the last time together — Richard his brother, Edward and Edmund, his two sons, Edward with Eleanor just starting for Palestine: 'As near a way to heaven,' she said, 'from Syria as from England or Spain.' They supported the coffin of the Confessor,³ and laid him in the spot where (with the exception of one short interval) he has remained ever since. The day was commemorated by its selection as the usual time when the King held his Courts and Parliaments.

Behind the Shrine, where now stands the Chantry of Henry V., were deposited the sacred relics, presented to the King twenty years before by his favourite Order the Templars. Amongst them may be noticed the tooth of St. Athanasius, the stone which was believed to show the footprint of the ascending Saviour,⁴ and (most highly prized of all) a phial con-

The second translation, Oct. 18, 1269.

Relics, 1247.

¹ *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 193.

² Ridgway, p. 82.

³ Wykes, p. 88; Ridgway, p. 63.

⁴ M. Paris, p. 768; Widmore, p. 64. One of these footprints is still shown in the Mosque or Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet; another is in the Mosque of Omar.

taining some drops of the Holy Blood. This was carried in state by the King himself from St. Paul's to the Abbey; and it was on the occasion of its presentation, and of Prince Edward's knighthood, that Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, was present (much as a modern photographer or artist attends a state ceremony at royal command), to give an exact account of what he saw, and to be rewarded afterwards by a dinner in the newly-finished refectory.¹

With the Templars, who gave these precious offerings, it had been the King's original intention to have been buried in the Temple Church. But his interest in the Abbey grew during the fifty years that he had seen it in progress, and his determination became fixed that it should be the sepulchre of himself and of the whole Plantagenet race. The short, stout, ungainly old man, with the blinking left eye,² and the curious craft with which he wound himself out of the many difficulties of his long and troublesome reign, such as made his contemporaries regard him on both accounts as the lynx foretold by Merlin,³ was at last drawing to his end. 'Quiet King Henry III., our English Nestor (not for depth of brains but for length of life), who reigned fifty-six years, in which time he buried all his contemporary princes in Christendom twice over. All the months in the year may be in a manner carved out of an April day: hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foul weather — just the character of this King's life — certain only in uncertainty; sorrowful, successful, in plenty, in penury, in wealth, in want, conquered, conqueror.'⁴

¹ M. Paris, pp. 735-9.

² Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75; Trivet, p. 281.

³ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75.

⁴ Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1276.

Domestic calamities crowded upon him : the absence of his son Edward, the murder of his nephew Henry at Viterbo, the death of his brother Richard. He died at the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, on the festival of the recently canonised St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (Nov. 16), and was buried on the festival of St. Edmund the Anglo-Saxon martyr (Nov. 20), in the Abbey of Westminster, the Templars acknowledging their former connection by supplying the funeral.¹ The body was laid, not where it now rests, but in the coffin, before the high altar, vacated by the removal of the Confessor's bones, and still, as Henry might suppose, sanctified by their odour.² As the corpse sank into the grave, the Earl of Gloucester, in obedience to the King's dying commands, put his bare hand upon it, and swore fealty to the heir-apparent, absent in Palestine. Edward, in his homeward journey, was not unmindful of his father's tomb. He had heard of the death of his son Henry,³ but his grief for him was swallowed up in his grief for Henry his father. 'God may give me more sons, but not another father.'⁴ From the East, or from France, he brought the precious marbles, the slabs of porphyry, with which, ten years afterwards, the tomb was built up, as we now see it, on the north side of the Confessor's Shrine; and an Italian artist, Torel,⁵ carved the effigy which lies upon it.⁶ Yet ten more years passed, and into the finished tomb was removed the body of the King. Henry

Death of
Henry III.
Nov. 16,
buried Nov.
20, 1272.

Building of
his Tomb,
1281.

His Re-
interment.

¹ Dart, ii. 34.

² Wykes, p. 98.

³ He was buried in the Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (See Chapter V.)

⁴ Widmore, p. 76.

⁵ *Gleanings*, p. 150; *Arch.* xxix. 191.

⁶ See Westmacott in *Old London*, p. 187.

had in his earlier years, when at his ancestral burial-place in Anjou, promised that his heart should be deposited with the ashes of his kindred in the Abbey of Fontevrault. The Abbess,¹ one of the grandest of her rank in France, usually of the blood-royal, with the singular privilege of ruling both a monastery of men and a nunnery of women, was in England at the time of the removal of Henry's body to the new tomb, and claimed the promise. It was on this occasion that, under warrant from the King, in the presence of his brother Edmund, and the two prelates specially connected with the Westminster coronations, the Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells, the heart was delivered in the Abbey into her hands — the last relic of the lingering Plantagenet affection for their foreign home.²

Such was the beginning of the line of royal sepultures in the Abbey; and so completely was the whole work identified with Henry III., that when, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry V., the Nave was completed, the earlier style — contrary to the almost universal custom of the mediæval builders — was continued, as if by a process of antiquarian restoration; and this tribute to Henry's memory is visible even in the armorial bearings of the benefactors of the Abbey. To mark the date, and to connect it with the European history of the time, the Eagle of Frederick II., the heretical Emperor of Germany, the Lilies of Louis IX., the sainted King of France, the Lion of Alexander III., the doomed King of Scotland,³ had been fixed on the walls

¹ See the description of the convent in the *Memoirs of Mdle. de Montpensier*, i. 49-52. The Abbess in her time was called 'Madame de Fontevrault,' and was a natural daughter of Louis XIII.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 312.

³ This disappeared in 1829.

of the Choir, where they may still in part be seen. There, too, remains the only contemporary memorial which England possesses of Simon de Montfort, founder of the House of Commons.¹ It was these and the like shields of nobles, coeval with the building of Henry III.,² not those of the later ages, that were still continued on the walls of the Nave when it was completed in the following centuries.

It would seem that, with the same domestic turn which appears in Louis Philippe's arrangement of the Orleans cemetery at Dreux, Henry at Westminster had provided for the burial of his whole family in all his branches round him.³ Twelve years before his own interment he had already laid, in a small richly-carved tomb by the entrance of St. Edmund's Chapel, his dumb and very beautiful little daughter, of five years old, Catherine.⁴ Mass was said daily for her in the Hermitage of Charing. Beside her were interred his two other children who died young, and whose figures were painted above her tomb — Richard and John.⁵ The

1257,
Princess
Catherine,
and other
children of
Henry III.

The heart
of Prince
Henry, 1271.

¹ Gules — a lion rampant — double-tailed — argent, in N. isle.

² Sir Gilbert Scott has pointed this out to me, particularly in the case of Valence Earl of Pembroke, and Ferrers Earl of Derby. Even the details of Henry III.'s architecture, though modified in the Nave, were continued in the Cloisters. The shield of the Confessor is the earliest of the kind, the martlets not having yet lost their legs. See the account of a MS. description of these shields in 1598, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Jan. 25, 1866.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 146; *Arch.* xxix. 188; *Annals*, A. D. 1283.

⁴ Matt. Paris, p. 949. In the Liberate Roll, 41 Hen. III., is a payment for her funeral on May 16. It was made by a mason in Dorsetshire, Master Simeon de Well, probably Weal, near Corfe Castle, who also furnished the Purbeck marble for the tomb of John, eldest son of Edward I. (Pipe Rolls, Dorset, 41, H. iii.) I owe this to Mr. Bond of Tyneham.

⁵ The arch is said to have been constructed by Edward I., as a

heart of Henry, son of his brother Richard, who was killed in the cathedral at Viterbo by the sons of Simon de Montfort, was brought home and placed in a gold cup, by the Shrine of the Confessor. The widespread horror of the murder had procured, through this incident, the one single notice of the Abbey in the 'Divina Commedia' of Dante:

Lo cor che'n sul Tamigi ancor si cola.¹

The King's half-brother, William de Valence, lies close by, within the Chapel of St. Edmund, dedicated to the second great Anglo-Saxon saint. This chapel seems to have been regarded as of the next degree of sanctity to the Royal Chapel of St. Edward. William was the son of Isabel, widow of John, by her second marriage with the Earl of Marche and Poitiers, and the favour shown to him and his wild Poitevin kinsman by his brother was one cause of the King's embroilment with the English Barons.² His whole tomb is French; its enamels from Limoges; his birth-place Valence on the Rhone, represented on his coat-of-arms. His son³ Aymer — so called from the father of Isabel Aymer, Count of Angoulême — built the tomb; and also secured for himself a still more splendid resting-place on the north side of the sacrarium, making one range of sepulchral monuments,⁴ with his cousins memorial to his four young children — John, Henry, Alfonso [and Eleanor?]. (See Crull, p. 28.)

¹ Dante's *Inferno*, xii. 115; *Gleanings*, p. 138. — Benvenuto of Imola, commenting on this line, says: 'In quodam monasterio monachorum vocato ibi Guamister.' (Robertson's *History of the Church*, iii. 463.)

² *Gleanings*, pp. 155–157; Crull, p. 155. The tomb has been much injured since 1685. (*Gleanings*, p. 62.)

³ His two other children, John and Margaret, occupy the richly-enamelled spaces at the foot of the Shrine. (Crull, p. 156.) The name of their father is still visible upon the grave.

⁴ See *Old London*, p. 194.

Edmund and Aveline. Aveline, the greatest heiress in the kingdom, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle, had been married to Edmund, in the Abbey, in 1269, shortly after the translation of the relics of the Confessor. She died two years after her father-in-law the King; and was followed to the same illustrious grave by her husband, twenty-three years later.¹ He was the second son of Henry. It is possible that his epithet *Crouchback*, if not derived from his humped back, was a corruption of Crossback or Crusader. Whether it be so or not, he remains the chief monument of the Crusading period.² He and his brother Edward started together before their father's death, and the ten knights painted on the north side of his tomb have been supposed to represent the gallant English band who engaged in that last struggle to recover the Holy Land. If in this respect he represents the close of the first period of the Middle Ages, in two other respects he contains the germs of much of the future history of England. First Earl of Lancaster, he was the founder of that splendid house. Henry IV., with that curious tenacity of hereditary right which distinguished his usurpation, tried to maintain that Edmund was really the eldest son of his father, excluded from the throne only by his deformity.³ From Provins — where he resided on his return from the Holy Land, with his second wife, Blanche of Navarre, and which he converted almost into an English town — he brought back those famous Red roses, wrongly named

Aveline,
Countess of
Lancaster,
1273.
Edmund,
Earl of
Lancaster,
1296.

¹ Her tomb originally was raised upon the present basement. (See Dart, ii. 7, 10.)

² These tombs are architecturally connected with those of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury, and Bishop De Luda at Ely. (*Gleanings*, p. 62.)

³ Harding (Turner, ii. 273).

'of Provence,' planted there by the Crusaders, from Palestine, which may be seen carved on his tomb, and which became in after-days the badge of the Lancastrian dynasty. His extravagance, with that of his father, combined to produce that reaction in the English people which led to the foundation of the House of Commons. And the length of time which elapsed before his tomb was completed, arose from his own dying anxiety not to be buried till all his debts were paid. He died in the same year as his half-uncle William, but the tomb was evidently not erected till late in the reign of Edward II.

These are but the eddies of the royal history. The main stream flows through the Confessor's Chapel. Prince Edward and Eleanor have returned from the Crusades. Eleanor is the first to depart. The remem-

Eleanor of
Castile,
died Nov.
29, 1291.

brance of their crusading kinsman, St. Louis, never leaves them; and when Eleanor died at Hardby, the crosses which were erected at all the halting-places of his remains, from Mont Cenis to St. Denys, seem to have furnished the model of the twelve memorial crosses which marked the passage of the 'Queen of good memory,' from Lincoln to Charing — 'Mulier pia, modesta, misericors, Anglicorum omnium amatrix.'¹ Her entrails were left at Lincoln; her

Her tomb.

heart was deposited in the Blackfriars' monastery in London; but her body was placed in the Abbey, at the foot of her father-in-law, just before the removal of his own corpse into his new tomb. A hundred wax-lights were for ever to burn around her grave on St. Andrew's Eve, the anniversary of her death; and each Abbot of Westminster was bound by oath to

¹ See *Memorials of Queen Eleanor*; and Arch. xxix. 170-4, 181.

keep up this service, before he entered on his office, and the charter requiring it was read aloud in the Chapter House. The Bishop of Lincoln buried her: a mortal feud between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster kept them from meeting at the funeral.¹

Eighteen years passed away. Edward had married a second time. He had erected splendid tombs, of which we have previously spoken, to his father, his wife, and his uncle. He had continued the Abbey for five bays westward into the Nave.² The Chapel of the Confessor, where he had kept his vigil before his knight-hood, he had filled with trophies of war, most alien to the pacific reign of his father — the Stone of Fate from Scotland, and a fragment of the Cross from Alfonso, some remote sanctuary of Wales.³ His little son Alfonso, called after his grandfather, Alfonso of Castile, hung up with his own hands before the shrine the golden crown of Llewellyn, the last Welsh Prince, slain amongst the broom at Builth; and was himself, almost immediately afterwards, buried between his brothers and sisters in the Abbey, whilst his heart lies with his mother's in the Blackfriars' convent.⁴

And now Edward himself is brought from the wild village of Burgh, on the Solway sands. For sixteen weeks he lay in Waltham Abbey by the grave of Harold; and then, almost four months after his death, was buried by Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, between his brother's and his father's tomb.⁵ The monument was not

Death of
Edward I.,
Friday, July
7, 1307.
Buried
Oct. 27.

His tomb.

¹ *Memorials of Queen Eleanor*, pp. 175, 179; *Old London*, p. 187.

² *Gleanings*, p. 32.

³ See Chapters II. and V.

⁴ Matthew of Westminster, A. D. 1284; *Gleanings*, p. 151.

⁵ Rishanger, *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, A. D. 1307. (Pauli, ii. 178.)

always so rude as it now appears. There are still remains of gilding on its black¹ Purbeck sides. A massive canopy of wood overshadowed it, which remained till it disappeared in a scene of uproar, which might have startled the sleeping King below into the belief that the Scots had invaded the sanctity of the Abbey, when, on the occasion of a midnight funeral, the terrified spectators defended themselves with its rafters against the mob.²

But, even in its earliest days, the plain tomb of the greatest of the Plantagenets, without mosaic, carving, or effigy, amongst the splendid monuments of his kindred, cries for explanation. Two reasons are given. The first connects it with the inscription, which runs along its side:—*Edvardus Primus Scotorum malleus*
Inscription
'Pactum
Serva.' *hic est, 1308. Pactum Serva.'*³ Is the unfinished tomb a fulfilment of that famous 'pact,' which the dying King required of his son, that his flesh should

¹ That it is of Purbeck marble, and that its base, as well as that of Henry III.'s tomb, is of Caen stone, I am assured by Professor Ramsay. This disposes of a tradition that the stones of Edward I.'s tomb were brought from Jerusalem.

² See Chapter IV.

³ Lord Hailes (*Scotland*, i. 27) evidently supposes this to allude to the dying compact. But there can be no doubt that the inscription is of far later date; and the motto '*Pactum serva*' is, in all probability, a mere moral maxim, '*Keep your promise.*' For—1. The inscription is of the same character as that which runs round the Shrine of the Confessor, which has obliterated the larger part of the older inscription; 2. That inscription is evidently of the time of Abbot Feckenham (see Chapter VI.); 3. The like inscription on Henry V.'s tomb is also of a later date, as appears from the allusion to Queen Catherine's coffin (see p. 186); 4. All these royal inscriptions are exactly similar in style, consisting of a Latin hexameter, a date (in the case of Henry III. and Edward I. a wrong date), and a moral maxim. Four inscriptions still remain, in whole or in part—that of Edward I., Henry III., Henry V., and the Confessor. (See also Neale, ii. 69–109.) That of Edward I. has attracted more attention, both from its intrinsic interest and from its more conspicuous position.

be boiled, his bones carried at the head of the English army till Scotland was subdued, and his heart sent to the Holy Land,¹ which he had vainly tried in his youth to redeem from the Saracens? It is true that with the death of the King the charms of the conquest of Scotland ceased. But it may possibly have been 'to keep the pact' that the tomb was left in this rude state, which would enable his successors at any moment to take out the corpse and carry off the heart. It may also have been with a view to this that a singular provision was left and enforced. Once every two years the tomb was to be opened, and the wax of the King's cerecloth renewed. This renewal constantly took place as long as his dynasty lasted, perhaps with a lingering hope that the time would come when a victorious English army would once more sweep through Scotland with the conqueror's skeleton, or another crusade embark for Palestine with that true English heart. The hour never came, and when the dynasty changed with the fall of Richard II., the renewal of the cerement ceased. From that time the tomb remained unfinished, but undisturbed, till, in the middle of the last century, it was opened in the presence of the Society of Antiquaries,² and the King was found in his royal robes, ^{Opening of the tomb in 1771.} wrapped in a large waxed linen cloth. Then for the last

¹ Walsingham, A. D. 1307. — Two thousand pounds in silver were laid up, and 140 knights named for the expedition. How deeply this expedition was impressed on popular feeling appears from the allusion in the *Elegy* in Percy's *Reliques* (ii. 9), with the Pope's lament —

'Jerusalem, thou hast y-love [lost],
The flower of all chivalry,
Now King Edward liveth no more.
Alas, that he should die!'

² *Arch.* iii. 376, 398, 399; Neale, ii. 172; D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, iii. 81. — The corpse was six feet two inches long.

time was seen that figure, lean and tall, and erect as a palm-tree,¹ whether running or riding. But the long shanks, which gave him his surname, were concealed in the cloth of gold; the eyes, with the cast which he had inherited from his father, were no longer visible; nor the hair, which had been yellow² or silver-bright in childhood, black in youth, and snow-white in age, on his high broad forehead. Pitch was poured in upon the corpse, and as Walpole comically laments in deploring the final disappearance of the crown, robes, and sceptre, 'They boast now of having enclosed him so effectually, that his ashes cannot be violated again.'³

There is yet another explanation, to which, even under any circumstances, we must in part resort, and which carries us on to the next reign. 'As Wasteful-
ness of
Edward II. *Malleus Scotorum*, "the hammer or crusher of the Scots," is written on the tomb of King Edward I. in Westminster, so *Incus Scotorum*, "the anvil of the Scots," might as properly be written on the monument (if he had any) of Edward II.'⁴ His monument is at Gloucester, as William Rufus's at Winchester, the nearest church to the scene of his dreadful death. But he is not without his memorial in the Abbey. That unfinished condition of the tomb of his father is His tomb at
Gloucester,
1327. the continued witness of the wastefulness of the unworthy son, who spent on himself the money which his father had left for the carrying on of his great designs,⁵ if not for the completion of his monument.⁶

¹ *Chron. Roff.* (Pauli, ii. 178.)

² Rishanger, p. 76.

³ Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 197.

⁴ Fuller's *Church Hist.* A. D. 1314.

⁵ Walsingham, A. D. 1307.

⁶ In 1866, a slight memorial of some festival in Edward II.'s reign was found in fragments of paper-hangings, bearing his arms, affixed to the pillars near the altar.

But his son, John, surnamed, from his birth in that fine old palace, of Eltham, who died at Perth at the early age of 19, was expressly ordered to be removed from the spot where he was first interred, to a more suitable place 'entre les royaux,'¹ yet 'so as to leave room for the King and his successors.' The injunction was either disregarded, or was thought to be adequately fulfilled by his interment in the quasi-royal Chapel of St. Edmund, under a tomb which lost its beautiful canopy² in the general crash of the Chapel at the time of the Duchess of Northumberland's funeral in the last century.

Tomb of
John of
Eltham,
1284.

The whole period of the two Edwards is well summed up in the tomb of Aymer de Valence, cousin of Edward I., planted, as we have seen, in the conspicuous spot between Edmund and Aveline of Lancaster, — the tall pale man, nicknamed by Gaveston 'Joseph the Jew,'³ — the ruthless destroyer of Nigel Bruce, of Piers Gaveston, and of Thomas of Lancaster. If the Scots could never forgive him for the death of Nigel, neither could the English for the death of the almost canonised Earl of Lancaster. 'No Earl of Pembroke,' it was believed, 'ever saw his father afterwards:' and Aymer's mysterious death in France was regarded as a judgment for 'consenting to the death of St. Thomas.'⁴ Pembroke College at Cambridge

Aymer de
Valence,
Earl of
Pembroke,
1292.

¹ Archives. The Prior and Convent received £100 fine in lieu of the horses and armour. (Sandford, 155.)

² For the canopy, see Chapter IV.; Crull, p. 46; Nichols's *Anecdotes* (1760 and 1777), iii. 745; Malcolm's *Lond.*, p. 253.

³ Capgrave, p. 252.

⁴ Leland; Neale, ii. 273. — For the narrow escape of Aymer's tomb from destruction in the last century, see Chapter IV. Masses were said for his soul in the Chapel of St. John, close behind his tomb. (Lysons's *Environs*, p. 349.)

was founded by his widow, to commemorate the terrible bereavement which, according to tradition, befell her on her wedding-day.

The northern side of the Royal Chapel and its area — a position peculiarly honourable in connection with the mediæval position of the priest at the Eucharist — was now filled. The southern side carried on and Queen Philippa, 1369. completed the direct line of the House of Anjou. In the tomb of Philippa a more historical spirit is beginning to supersede the ideal representations of early times. Her face is the earliest attempt at a portrait;¹ and the surrounding figures are not merely religious emblems, but the thirty princely personages with whom, by birth, the Princess of Hainault was connected,² as the tomb is 'probably by an Hainault artist. But 'she built to herself,' says Speed, 'a monument of more glory and durability by founding a college, called of her the Queen's, in Oxford.'³ On her deathbed she said to the King, 'I ask that you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you lie by my side in the Abbey of Westminster.'⁴

Death of Edward III., June 21, 1377. 'King Edward's fortunes seemed to fall into eclipse when she was hidden in her sepulchre.' His features are said to be represented, from a cast taken after death, as he lay on his deserted deathbed:⁵ —

Mighty victor, mighty lord,
Low on his funeral couch he lies!⁶

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 170.

² Neale, ii. 98; *Gleanings*, p. 64.

³ Speed, p. 724.

⁴ Froissart.

⁵ *Gleanings*, p. 173.

⁶ In an account of these two tombs by a Flemish antiquary, Edward III.'s tomb is said to be empty, the King being buried in Queen Philippa's. But this is very doubtful.

His long flowing hair and beard agree with the contemporary accounts. The godlike grace which shone in his countenance¹ is perhaps hardly perceptible, but it yet bears a curious resemblance to an illustrious living poet who is said to be descended from him. His tomb.

His twelve children² — including those famous ‘seven sons,’ the springheads of all the troubles of the next hundred years — were graven round his tomb, of which now only remain the Black Prince, Joan de la Tour, Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edmund Duke of York, Mary Duchess of Brittany, and William of Hatfield. Two infant children, William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour (so called from her birth in the Tower), have their small tomb in St. Edmund’s Chapel.³ His children.

The monument of Edward III.⁴ is the first that has entered into our literature: —

The honourable tomb
That stands upon your royal grandsire’s bones.⁵

The sword⁶ and shield that went before him in France formed part of the wonders of the Abbey as far back as the time of Queen Elizabeth.⁷ His sword and shield.
Dryden describes —

How some strong churl would brandishing advance
The monumental sword that conquer’d France.

¹ Pauli, ii. 500; *Gleanings*, p. 173

² Stow (p. 24) saw them all, as well as those on Queen Philippa’s tomb.

³ Ibid. p. 173; Neale, ii. 301.

⁴ Feckenham’s inscription on the tomb is the same as that under Edward III.’s statue at Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁵ Shakspeare’s *Richard II.*

⁶ A similar sword is in the Chapter House at Windsor.

⁷ Rye’s *England* (1592), pp. 10, 92. There was then a wolf upon it.

Sir Roger de Coverley 'laid his hand on Edward III.'s sword, and, leaning on the pommel of it, gave us the whole history of the Black Prince, concluding that, in Sir Richard Baker's opinion, Edward III. was one of the greatest princes that ever sate on the English throne.' Other valued trophies of the French wars were the vestments of St. Peter, patron of the Abbey; and the head of St. Benedict, patron of its Order, which was supposed to have been brought from Monte Casino to France.¹

The circle of the Confessor's Chapel was now all but filled. The only space left was occupied by a small tomb (now removed to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist) of the grandchildren of Edward I. — Hugh and Mary de Bohun, children of his daughter Elizabeth by Humphrey de Bohun. It may be from the absence of any further open space by the side of the Royal Saint, that Edward the Black Prince had already fixed his tomb under the shelter of the great ecclesiastical martyr of Canterbury Cathedral.² But his son Richard II. Richard was not so disposed to leave the Abbey. His affection for it seems to have equalled that of any of his predecessors. In it his coronation had been celebrated with unusual formality and splendour.³ In it his marriage, like that of Henry III., had been solemnised.⁴ Here he had consulted the Hermit on his way to confront the rebels.⁵ The great northern entrance, known as Solomon's Porch, was rebuilt in his time, and once

Relics from
France.

Tombs of
the Bohun
children.

Edward
the Black
Prince
buried at
Canterbury
1376.

Richard II.

His affec-
tion for
the Abbey.

His mar-
riage, Jan.
22, 1382.

¹ Walsingham, pp. 171, 178.

² *Memorials of Canterbury*, c. 3.

³ See Chapter II.

⁴ Walsingham, ii. 48; Sandford, 230; Neale, ii. 114.

⁵ See Chapter V.

contained his well-known badge of the White Hart,¹ which still remains, in colossal proportions, painted on the fragile partition which shuts off ^{His badge.} the Muniment Room from the southern triforium of the Nave. He affected a peculiar veneration for the Confessor. He bore his arms, and when he went over to Ireland, which 'was very pleasing to the Irish,'² by a special grace granted them to his favourite, the Earl of Norfolk.³ 'By St. Edward!' was his favourite oath.⁴ He had a ring, which he confided to St. Edward's Shrine when he was not out of England.⁵ His portrait⁶ long remained in the Abbey, probably ^{His portrait.} in the attitude and dress in which he appeared at the Feast of St. Edward, or (as has been conjectured) when he sate 'on a lofty throne' in Old Palace Yard, and gave a momentary precedence to the Abbots of Westminster, over the Abbots of St. Albans.⁷

¹ The badge was first given at a tournament in 1396, taken from his mother, Joan of Kent. According to the legend, it was derived from the white stag caught at Besastine, near Bagshot, in Windsor Forest, with the collar round its neck, '*Nemo me tangat; Caesaris sum.*' From the popularity of Richard II., it was adopted by his followers with singular tenacity, and hence the difficulty which Henry IV. experienced in suppressing it. (*Archæologia*, xx. 106, 152; xxix. 38, 40.) Hence also its frequency as the sign of inns. Hence, in Epworth Church, in Lincolnshire, it has been recently found painted with the arms of the Mowbrays, his faithful adherents.

² Creton. (*Arch.* xx. 28.)

³ It was one of the articles of the impeachment of the Earl of Surrey by Henry VIII.

⁴ Creton. (*Arch.* xx. 43.)

⁵ Inventory of Relics.

⁶ It hung above the pew used by the Lord Chancellor, on the south side of the Choir, till, injured by the wigs of successive occupants, it was removed, in 1775, to the Jerusalem Chamber. (See Chapter VI.) For the whole history of the portrait, and its successful restoration by Mr. Richmond, with the aid of Mr. Merrit, see the full account, by Mr. George Scharf, in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, February 1867.

⁷ Riley's Preface to Walsingham's *Abbots of St. Albans*, vol. iii. p. lxxv.; Weever, p. 473.

It is the oldest contemporary representation of any English sovereign, an unquestionable likeness of the fatal and (as believed at the time) unparalleled beauty which turned Richard's feeble brain. The original picture had almost disappeared under successive attempts at restoration. It was reserved for a distinguished artist of our own day to recover the pristine form and features; the brow and eyes still to be traced in the descendants of his line;¹ the curling masses of auburn hair, the large heavy eyes, the long thin nose, the short tufted hair under his smooth chin,² the soft and melancholy expression, which suits at once the Richard of history and of Shakspeare.³

Was this face the face
That every day under his household roof
Did keep ten thousand men? Was this the face
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?
Was this the face that faced so many follies,
And was at last out-faced by Bolingbroke?⁴

Richard is thus a peculiarly Westminster King; and it is clear from all these indications that he must have desired for himself and all for whom he cared,⁵ a burial as near as possible to the Royal Saint of Westminster. The grandchildren of Edward I. were removed from their place in the Confessor's Chapel to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, and on the vacant site
Funeral of
Queen Anne,
1394.
 thus secured was raised the tomb for his wife, Anne of Bohemia, the patroness of the Wycliffites,

¹ The Prince of Wales and the Princess Alice may be specially mentioned.

² Evesham, pp. 162, 169. — In a rage his colour fled, and he became deadly pale. (*Arch.* xx. 43; Shakspeare's *Richard II.*, act. ii. sc. 1.)

³ Compare also Gray's lines, Chapter II. For the chair in which he sits, see Mr. Scharf, *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, p. 36.

⁴ *Richard II.*, act iv. sc. 1. ⁵ *Gleanings*, p. 174. See Chapter IV.

the link between Wycliffe and Huss. The King's extravagant grief for her loss, which caused him to raze to the ground the Palace at Sheen, in which she died, broke out also at her funeral.¹ It was celebrated at an enormous cost. Hundreds of wax candles were brought from Flanders. On reaching the Abbey from St. Paul's he was roused to a frenzy of rage, by finding that the Earl of Arundel not only had come too late for the procession, but asked to go away before the ceremony was over. He seized a cane from the hand of one of the attendants, and struck the Earl such a blow on the head, as to bring him to the ground at his feet. The sacred pavement was stained with blood, and the service was so long delayed, by the altercation and reconciliation, that night came on before it was completed.² The King's affection for his wife was yet further to be shown by the arrangement of his own effigy by the side of hers, grasping her hand in his. The tomb was completed during his reign,³ and decorated with the ostrich-feathers and lions of Bohemia, the eagles of the Empire, the leopards of England, the broomcods of the Plantagenets, and the sun rising through the black clouds of Crécy.⁴ The rich gilding and ornaments can still be discerned through their thick coating of indurated dust.⁵ The inscription round the tomb contains the first indication of the conflict with the rising Reformers—in the pride with which Richard records his beauty, his wisdom, and his orthodoxy :

¹ Weever, p. 477.

² Trokelowe, pp. 169, 424.

³ Neale, ii. 107-112.

⁴ For a full description of the armorial bearings, see *Arch.* xxix. 43, 47, 51. Some of them appear also on Langham's tomb (*ibid.* 53). — See Chapter V.; also *Memorials of Canterbury*, pp. 153, 154, 174-182.

⁵ *Arch.* xxix. 57.

Tomb of
Anne, and
of Richard
II., 1396.

*Corpore procerus,¹ animo prudens ut Homerus,
Obruit hæreticos, et eorum stravit amicos.²*

But whether the King himself really reposes in the sepulchre which he had so carefully constructed is open to grave doubt. A corpse was brought from Pomfret to London by Henry IV., with the face exposed, and thence conveyed to the Friars at Langley;³ and long afterwards, partly as an expiation for Henry's sins, partly to show that Richard was really dead, it was carried back by Henry V. from Langley, and was buried in state in this tomb.⁴ The features were recognised by many, and were believed to resemble the unfortunate King; but there were still some who maintained that it was the body of his chaplain, Maudlin, whose likeness to the King was well known.⁵ Twice the interior of the tomb has been seen: once in the last century by an accidental opening in the basement, and again more fully in 1871, on occasion of the reparation of the monument by the Board of Works. The skulls of the King and Queen were visible; no mark of violence was to be seen on either. The skeletons were nearly perfect; even some of the teeth were preserved. The two copper-gilt crowns which were described on the first occasion had disappeared; but the staff, the sceptre, part of the ball, the two pairs of royal gloves, the fragments of peaked shoes as in the portrait, still remained.⁶ In this tomb, thus closing the precinct of

His Burial
at Langley,
1399.
Removed
to West-
minster,
1418.

¹ This contradicts the Evesham chronicler, who says he was short (p. 169).

² See the whole inscription in Neale, ii. 110.

³ See Pauli, iii. 60.

⁴ Turner, ii. 380.

⁵ Creton (*Arch.* xx. 220, 409). But Maudlin had been beheaded a month before. (Pauli, iii. 11.)

⁶ The bodies were in a small vault beneath the monument. The

the Chapel, the direct line of the descendants of its founder Henry III. was brought to an end; and with it closes a complete period of English history.¹

The Lancastrian House, which begins the new transitional epoch, reaching across the fifteenth century, had no place in this immediate circle. Henry IV., THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER. Henry IV. although he died almost within the walls of the Abbey, sought his last resting-place in Canterbury Cathedral; and it may be, that had his son succeeded only to the affection of the great ecclesiastical party, which the crafty and superstitious usurper had conciliated, Westminster would have been deserted for Canterbury.² Henry V. But Henry V. cherished a peculiar veneration for the Abbey, which had been the scene of that great transformation,³ from a wild licentious youth to a steady determined man, to an austere champion of orthodoxy, to the greatest soldier of the age, 'Hostium victor et sui' Not only

bones and the relics were carefully replaced. The investigation is described at length in the *Archæologia* of 1879.

¹ Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III., murdered at the instigation of Richard II., was interred on the south side of the Confessor's Chapel, beneath the pavement, under a splendid brass (see Sandford, p. 230), of which nothing but the indentations can now be traced. His widow lies in the Chapel of St. Edmund, under a brass representing her in her conventual dress as a nun of Barking. Philippa, widow of Edward Duke of York, afterwards wife of Sir Walter Fitzwalter, was the first to occupy the Chapel of St. Nicholas, built probably in the time of Edward I., to receive the relics of that saint, and next in dignity to those of St. Edward and St. Edmund. Her tomb (now removed to the side) was then in the middle of the Chapel. (Neale, ii. 170.)

Thomas of Woodstock and his wife, Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, 1397, 1399.

Philippa, Duchess of York, 1433.

² After Edward the Confessor's tomb, Sir Roger de Coverley was shown 'Henry the Fourth's; upon which he shook his head, and told us there was fine reading from the casualties of that reign.' (*Spectator*, No. 329.) This was doubtless a confusion either in the good knight, or his guide, with *Henry III.'s* tomb.

³ See Chapter V.

did he bring back the dead Richard — not only did he give lands and fat bucks to the Convent, but he added to the Church itself some of its most essential features. The Nave — which had remained stationary since the death of Edward I., except so far as it had been carried on by the private munificence of Abbot Langham¹ — was, by the orders of Henry V., prolonged nearly to its present extremity by the great architect of that age, remembered now for far other reasons — Whittington, Lord Mayor of London.² It was continued, as has been already remarked, in the same style as that which had prevailed when it was first begun, two centuries before. The first grand ceremonial which it witnessed was worthy of itself — the procession which assisted at the Te Deum for the victory of Agincourt.³

It was just before the expedition which terminated in that victory, that the King declared in his will his intention to be buried in the Abbey, with directions so precise as to show that he must carefully have studied the difficulties and the capabilities of the locality.⁴

The fulfilment of his intention derives additional force from the circumstances of his death. Like his father, he had conceived the fixed purpose of another crusade. He had borrowed from the Countess of Westmoreland the 'Chronicle of Jerusalem' and the 'Voyage of Godfrey de Bouillon'; he had sent out a Palestine Exploration party under Chevalier Lannoy.⁵ Just at this juncture his mortal illness overtook him at Vin-

¹ See Chapter V.

² Redman, pp. 70-72; *Gleanings*, p. 213; Rymer, *Fæd.* ix. 78.

³ *Memorials of London*, 621.

⁴ Rymer, *Fæd.* ix. 289.

⁵ *Arch.* xxi. 312; Rymer, x. 307; Pauli, iii. 178.

cennes.¹ When the Fifty-first Psalm was chanted to him, he paused at the words, 'Build Thou the walls of Jerusalem,' and fervently repeated them. 'As surely as I expect to die,' he said, 'I intended, after I had established peace in France, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the good pleasure of my Creator to have let me live my due time.' A few minutes after, as if speaking to the evil spirit of his youth, he cried out, 'Thou liest — thou liest! my part is with my Lord Jesus Christ;' and then, with the words strongly uttered, '*In manus tuas, Domine, ipsum terminum redemisti!*' — he expired.²

So much had passed since the time when he wrote his will, in the third year of his reign, that it seemed open for France and England to contest the glory of retaining him. Paris and Rouen both offered, it is said, immense sums of money for that purpose.³ But his known attachment to Westminster prevailed, and the most sumptuous arrangements were made for the funeral. The long procession from Paris to Calais, and from Dover to London, was headed by the King of Scots, James I., as chief mourner, followed by Henry's widow, Catherine of Valois. At each stage between Dover and London, at Canterbury, Ospringe, Rochester, and Dartford, funeral services were celebrated. On the procession reaching London, it was met by all the clergy.⁴ The obsequies were performed in the presence of Parliament, first at St. Paul's and then at the Abbey. No English king's funeral had ever been so grand. It is this scene alone which

Funeral of
Henry V.,
November,
1422.

¹ He was attacked by a violent dysentery, from the excessively hot summer, — the '*mal de S. Fiacre*,' — August 31, at midnight. (Pauli, iii. 173.)

² Walsingham, p. 407.

³ Pauli, iii. 178.

⁴ Ibid. p. 408.

brings the interior of the Abbey on the stage of Shakspeare¹—

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night! . . .
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

On the splendid car, accompanied by torches and white-robed priests innumerable, lay the effigy, now for the first time seen in the royal funerals.² Behind were led up the Nave, to the altar steps, his three chargers. To give a worthy place to the mighty dead a severe strain was put on the capacity of the Abbey. Room for his grave was created by a summary process, on which no previous King or Abbot had ventured. The extreme eastern end of the Confessor's Chapel, hitherto devoted to the sacred relics, was cleared out; and in their place was deposited the body of the most splendid King that England had down to that time produced;—second only as a warrior to the Black Prince—second only as

a sovereign to Edward I. His tomb, accordingly, was regarded almost as that of a saint in Paradise.³ The passing cloud of reforming zeal, which Chichele had feared, had been, as Chichele hoped, diverted by the French wars. From the time of Henry's conversion he affected and attained an austere piety unusual among his predecessors. Instead of their wild oaths, he had only two words, 'Impossible,' or 'It must be done.' In his army he forbade the luxury of feather beds. Had he conquered the whole of France, he would have destroyed all its vines, with a view of suppressing drunkenness.⁴ He was the most deter-

¹ Shakspeare's *Henry VI.*, First Part, act i. sc. 1.

² Previously the Kings themselves had been exhibited in their royal attire. (Bloxham, p. 92.) See Chapter IV.

³ Monstrelet, pp. 325, 326.

⁴ Pauli, iii. 175.



CHANTRY OF HENRY V.

mined enemy of Wycliffe and of all heretics that Europe contained.¹ He had himself intended that the relics should be still retained in the same locality, though transferred to the chamber above his tomb.² The recesses still existing in that chamber seem designed for this purpose. But the staunch support which the dead King had given to the religious world of that age, if not his brilliant achievements, seemed in the eyes of the clergy to justify a more extensive change. The relics were altogether removed, and placed in a chest, between the tomb of Henry III. and the Shrine of the Confessor, and the chamber was exclusively devoted to the celebration of services for his soul on the most elaborate scale. He alone of the Kings, hitherto buried in the Abbey, had ordered a separate Chantry to be erected, where masses might be for ever offered up.³ It was to be raised over his tomb. It was to have an altar in honour of the Annunciation.⁴ For one whole year '30 poor persons' were to recite there the Psalter of the Virgin, closing with these words in the vulgar tongue — 'Mother of God, remember thy servant Henry who puts his whole trust in thee.'⁵ It was to be high enough for the people down in the Abbey to see the priests officiating there. Accordingly a new Chapel sprang up, growing out of that of St. Edward, and almost reaching the dignity of another Lady Chapel. It towers above the Plantagenet graves beneath, as his empire towered above their kingdom. As ruthlessly as

¹ Rymer, x. 291, 604; Pauli, iii. 177.

² Rymer, ix. 289.

³ They were specified in his will, and amounted to 20,000. (Rymer, ix. 290.) John Arden was clerk of the works, and provided the Caen stone. A similar Chantry was prepared by the side of his father's tomb at Canterbury.

⁴ This is sculptured over the door.

⁵ Rymer, ix. 289.

any improvement of modern times, it defaced and in part concealed the beautiful monuments of Eleanor and Philippa. Its structure is formed out of the first letter of his name — H. Its statues represent not only the glories of Westminster, in the persons of its two founders,¹ but the glories of the two kingdoms which he had united — St. George, the patron of England; St. Denys, the patron of France. The sculptures round the Chapel break out into a vein altogether new in the Abbey. They describe the personal peculiarities of the man and his history — the scenes of his coronation, with all the grandees of his Court around him, and his battles in France. Amongst the heraldic emblems — the swans and antelopes derived from the De Bohuns² — is the flaming beacon or cresset light which he took for his badge, 'showing thereby that, although his virtues and good parts had been formerly obscured, and lay as a dead coal, waiting light to kindle it, by reason of tender years and evil company, notwithstanding, he being now come to his perfecter years and riper understanding had shaken off his evil counsellors, and being now on his high imperial throne, that his virtues should now shine as the light of a cresset, which is no ordinary light.'³ Aloft were hung his large emblazoned shield, his saddle, and his helmet, after the example of the like personal accoutrements of the Black Prince at Canterbury. The shield has lost its splendour, but is still there.⁴ The saddle is that on which he

¹ Unless the figure on the south side is King Arthur, in accordance with the seal of Henry V., which has the Confessor on one side and Arthur on the other.

² See Roberts's *Houses of York and Lancaster*, ii. 254, 255.

³ MS. history, quoted in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 69.

⁴ Its ornaments still appear in Sandford, 280.



HELMET, SHIELD, AND SADDLE OF HENRY V., STILL SUSPENDED
OVER HIS TOMB.

Vaulted with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
To witch the world with noble horsemanship.¹

The helmet — which, from its elevated position, has almost become a part of the architectural outline of the Abbey, and on which many a ^{His helmet.} Westminster boy has wonderingly gazed from his place in the Choir — is in all probability 'that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt,'² which twice saved his life on that eventful day — 'the bruised helmet' which he refused to have borne in state before him on his triumphal entry into London, 'for that he would have the praise chiefly given to God.'³

Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride;
Giving full trophy, signal and ostent
Quite from himself to God.⁴

Below is his tomb, which still bears some marks of the inscription which makes him the Hector of his age. Upon it lay his effigy stretched out, cut from the solid heart of an English oak, plated ^{His statue.} with silver-gilt, with a head of solid silver. It has suffered more than any other monument in the Abbey. Two teeth of gold were plundered in Edward IV.'s reign.⁵ The whole of the silver was carried off by some robbers, who had 'broken in the night-season into the Church of Westminster,' at the time of the

¹ Shakspeare's *Henry IV.*, First Part, act iv. sc. 1.

² It is lined with leather, and must have been richly gilded outside. I fear that the marks upon it are merely the holes for attaching the crest, &c., and not the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon.

³ Account of the helmet by the Ironmongers' Company, pp. 145, 146.

⁴ Shakspeare's *Henry V.*, act v., Chorus.

⁵ Inventory of Relics. (Archives.)

Dissolution.¹ But, even in its mutilated form, the tomb has always excited the keen interest of Englishmen. The robbery 'of the image of King Henry of Monmouth' was immediately investigated by the Privy Council. Sir Philip Sydney felt, that 'who goes but to Westminster, in the church may see Harry the Fifth ;'² and Sir Roger de Coverley's anger was roused at the sight of 'the figure of one of our English Kings without a head, which had been stolen away several years since.' 'Some Whig, I'll warrant you. You ought to lock up your kings better; they'll carry off the body too, if you don't take care.'³

If the splendour of Henry V.'s tomb marks the culmination of the Lancastrian dynasty, the story of its fall is no less told in the singular traces left in the Abbey by the history of his widow and his son. They, no doubt, raised the sumptuous structure over the dead King's grave; and they also clung, though with far different fates, to the neighbourhood of the sepulchre for which they had done so much.

Queen Catherine, after her second marriage with Owen Tudor, sank into almost total oblivion. On her death her remains were placed in the Abbey,⁴ but only in a rude tomb in the Lady Chapel beyond, in a 'badly apparelled⁵ state.' There the coffin lay for many years. It was, on the destruction of that Chapel by her grandson, placed on the right side of her royal husband,⁶ wrapt in a sheet of lead taken from the roof; and in

¹ Jan. 30, 1546. *Archæol.* xviii. 27. See Keepe, p. 155. The grates were added by Henry VI. (Rymer, x. 490.)

² *Defence of the Earl of Leicester.* (P. Cunningham.)

³ *Spectator*, No. 329. It would seem that the name was not given.

⁴ Strickland's *Queens*, iii. 183, 209.

⁵ Archives.

⁶ As specified in Feckenham's inscription, added in the next century.

it from the waist upwards was exposed to the visitors of the Abbey; and so it 'continued to be seen, the bones being firmly united, and thinly clothed with flesh, like scrapings of fine leather.'¹ Pepys, on his birthday visit to the Abbey, 'kissed a Queen.'²

Tomb of
Catherine
of Valois.
Died June 8,
buried Feb.
8, 1487.

This strange neglect was probably the result of the disfavour into which her memory had fallen from her ill-assorted marriage. But in the legends of the Abbey it was 'by her own appointment (as he that showeth the tombs will tell you by tradition), in regard of her disobedience to her husband, for being delivered of her son, Henry VI., at Windsor, the place which he forbade.'³ This desecration was brought to an end by the interment of the remains in a vault under the Villiers monument, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, at the time of the making of the adjacent Percy vault in 1778. A hundred years later, in 1878, they were finally, with the sanction of Queen Victoria, deposited in the chantry of Henry V. under the ancient altar-slab of the chapel.

Henry VI. was not willing, any more than his father, to abandon his hold on the Confessor's Shrine. He, first of his house, revived the traditional name of *Edward* in the person of his first-born son, who was born on St. Edward's Day.⁴ A long recollection lived in the memory of the old officers and workmen of the Abbey, how they had, in the disastrous period between the Battle of St. Albans and the Battle of Wakefield, seen the King visit the Abbey, at all

Visits of
Henry VI.
1461-1466.

¹ Dart, ii. 39. — The position is seen in Sandford, 289.

² Pepys's *Diary* (Feb. 24, 1668), iv. 253.

³ Weever, p. 475; Fuller, book iv. art. xv. § 48.

⁴ Ridgway, p. 178.

hours of the day and night, to fix the place of his sepulture.¹ On one occasion, between 7 and 8 P. M., he came from the Palace, attended by his confessor, Thomas Manning, afterwards Dean of Windsor. The abbot (Kirkton) received him by torchlight at the postern, and they went round the Chapel of the Confessor together. It was proposed to him, with the reckless disregard of antiquity which marked those ages, to move the tomb of Eleanor. The King, with a better feeling, said, 'that might not be well in that place,' and that 'he could in nowise do it;' and, on being still pressed, fell into one of his silent fits, and gave them no answer. He then was led into the Lady Chapel, saw his mother's neglected coffin, and heard the proposal that it should be more 'honourably apparelled,' and that he should be laid between it and the altar of that Chapel. He was again mute. On another occasion he visited the Chapel of the Confessor with Flete, the Prior and historian of the Abbey. Henry asked him, with a strange ignorance, the names of the Kings amongst whose tombs he stood, till he came to his father's grave, where he made his prayer. He then went up into the Chantry, and remained for more than an hour surveying the whole Chapel. It was suggested to him that the tomb of Henry V. should be pushed a little on one side, and his own placed beside it. With more regal spirit than was usual in him, he replied, 'Nay, let him alone; he lieth like a noble prince. I would not trouble him.' Finally, the Abbot proposed that the great Reliquary should be moved from the position which it now occupied close beside the Shrine, so as to leave a vacant space for a new tomb. The devout King anxiously asked whether there was any spot

¹ Archives.

where the Relics, thus a second time moved, could be deposited, and was told that they might stand 'at the back side of the altar.' He then 'marked with his foot seven feet,' and turned to the nobles who were with him. 'Lend me your staff,' he said to the Lord Cromwell; 'is it not fitting I should have a place here, where my father and my ancestors lie, near St. Edward?' And then, pointing with a white staff to the spot indicated, said, 'Here methinketh is a convenient place;' and again, still more emphatically, and with the peculiar asseveration which, in his pious and simple lips, took the place of the savage oaths of the Plantagenets, 'Forsooth, forsooth, here will we lie! Here is a good place for us.' The master-mason of the Abbey, Thirsk by name, took an iron instrument, and traced the circuit of the grave on the pavement. Within three days the Relics were removed, and the tomb was ordered. The 'marbler' Death of Henry VI. May 22, 1471. (as we should now say, the statuary) and the coppersmith received forty groats for their instalment, and gave one groat to the workmen, who long remembered the conversation of their masters at supper by this token. But 'the great trouble' came on, and nothing was done. Henry died in the Tower, and thence his corpse was taken first to the Abbey of Chertsey, and then (in consequence, it was said, of the miracles which attracted pilgrims to it) was removed by Richard III. to St. George's Chapel at Windsor — perhaps to lie near the scene of his birth, perhaps to be more closely under the vigilant eye of the new dynasty.

For now it was that the attachment which so many Princes had shown to Windsor became definitely fixed. Edward IV., though he died at Westminster, though

his obsequies were celebrated in St. Stephen's Chapel and in the Abbey, and though to his reign we probably

owe the screen which divides the Shrine from the High Altar, was buried in St. George's Chapel, over against his unfortunate rival.

This severance of the York dynasty from the Confessor's Shrine marks the first beginning of the sentiment which has eventually caused the Royal Sepulchres at Westminster to be superseded by Windsor. The obligations of Edward to the Sanctuary which had sheltered his wife and children compelled him indeed to contribute towards the completion of the Abbey. Here, as at the Basilica of Bethlehem, fourscore oaks

Edward IV., died April 9, 1483 :
buried at Windsor, April 17, 1488.
were granted by him for the repairs of the roof.¹ But, whilst Edward lay at Windsor, George at Tewkesbury, Richard at Leicester, Edward V. and his brother in the Tower,

the younger George and his sister Mary at Windsor,² Cecilia at Quarre³ in the Isle of Wight, Anne at Thetford (now at Framlingham), Catherine at Tiverton,

Margaret of York, Dec. 11, 1472.
Bridget at Dartford,⁴ one small tomb alone — that of Margaret, a child of nine months old — found its way into the Abbey. It now

stands by Richard II.'s monument, apparently moved from 'the altar end, afore St. Edward's Shrine.' Anne

Anne of Warwick, 1485.
Neville, the Queen of Richard III., and daughter of the Earl of Warwick, is believed to be

¹ Neale, i. 92; Tobler's *Bethlehem*, p. 112. See Chapter V.

² Green's *Princesses*, iii. 402.

³ Ibid. iv. 436. — Her first husband, Lord Wells, was buried in the Abbey 1498, in the Lady Chapel, not yet destroyed. (Ibid. iii. 428.) Her connection with the Isle of Wight was through her second husband, Thomas Kyme, a Lincolnshire gentleman, with whom she lived at East Standen.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 437; iv. 11, 12, 38, 47.

buried on the south side of the altar;¹ Anne Mowbray, the betrothed wife of young Richard of York, Anne Mowbray of York. in the Islip Chapel.²

But the passion for the House of Lancaster still ran underground; and when the Civil Wars were closed, its revival caused the Abbey to leap again into new life. In every important church an image of the sainted Henry had been erected. Even in York Minster pilgrimages were made to his figure in the rood-screen, which it required the whole authority Devotion to Henry VI. of the Northern Primate to suppress.³ This general sentiment could not be neglected by the Tudor King. He had from the first bound up his fortunes with those of Henry of Lancaster, amongst whose miracles was conspicuous the prediction that Henry Tudor would succeed him.⁴ Accordingly, he determined to reconstruct at Windsor the Chapel Claims of Windsor, Chertsey, and Westminster for his burial. at the east end of St. George's, originally founded by Henry III. and rebuilt by Edward III., in order to become the receptacle of the sacred remains, with which he intended that his own dust should mingle. Then it was that the two Abbeys of Chertsey and of Westminster put in their claims for the body — Chertsey on the ground that Richard III. had taken it thence by violence to Windsor; Westminster on the ground that the King, as we have seen, had in his lifetime determined there to be buried. Old vergers, servants, and workmen, who remembered the dates only by the imperfect sign that they were before or after 'the field of York, or of St.

¹ Crull, p. 23. — A leaden coffin was found there in 1866. The stone is supposed to be preserved in the pavement of the S. Transept.

² Keepe, 133.

³ Order of Archbishop Booth, October 27, 1479.

⁴ Pauli, iii. 634.

Albans,' had yet a perfect recollection of the very words which Henry had used; and the Council, which was held at Greenwich, to adjudicate the triangular contest, decided in favour of Westminster.¹ Windsor made a stout resistance, and continued its endeavours to reverse the decree by legal processes. But the King and Council persevered in carrying out what were believed to have been Henry's intentions; and, accordingly, the unfinished chapel at Windsor was left to the singular fate which was to befall it in after-times—the sepulchre designed for Cardinal Wolsey, the Roman Catholic chapel of James II., the burial-place of the family of George III., and finally the splendid monument of the virtues of the Saxon Prince, whose funeral rites it in part witnessed.

At Westminster every preparation was made to receive the saintly corpse. Henry VII. characteristically stated the great expenses to which he was subjected, and insisted on the Convent of Westminster contributing its quota of 500*l.*, (equal to 5000*l.* of our money) for transference of 'the holy body.'² This sum was duly paid by Abbot Fascet. The King determined to found at Westminster a Chapel yet more magnificent than that which he had designed at Windsor, a greater than the Confessor's Shrine, in order 'right shortly to translate into the same the body and reliques of his uncle of blissful memory, King Henry VI.'³ Pope Julius II. granted the licence for the removal, declaring that the obscurity in which the enemies of Henry had combined to envelope his

Decision in
favour of
West-
minster.
1493.

Confirmed
by the
Pope.
1504.

¹ Archives.

² Ibid.

³ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, i. pt. ii. p. 7.)

miracles, first at Chertsey and then at Windsor, was at last to be dispersed.¹

This was the last cry of 'the aspiring blood of Lancaster.' Suddenly, imperceptibly, it 'sank into the ground.' The language of the Westminster records certainly implies that the body was removed (according to a faint tradition, of which no distinct trace remains) to some 'place undistinguished' in the Abbey.² But the language of the wills both of Henry VII.³ and of Henry VIII. no less clearly indicates that it remains, according to the Windsor tradition, in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel. Unquestionably, no solemn 'translation' ever took place. The 'canonisation,' which the Pope had promised, was never carried out. The Chapel at Westminster was still pushed forward, but it became the Chapel, not of Henry VI., but of Henry VII.

Chapel of
Henry VI.
at West-
minster.

Changed
into the
Chapel of
Henry VII.

It may be that this change of purpose represents the penurious spirit of the King, whose features, even in his monumental effigy, were thought by an observant antiquary to indicate 'a strong reluctance to quit the possessions of this world;'⁴ and that the failure of canonisation was occasioned by his unwillingness, parsimonious even beyond the rest of his race, to part with the sum requisite for so costly an undertaking. But it may be that, as he became more firmly seated on his throne, the consciousness of his own importance increased, and the remembrance of his succession to Henry of Lancaster was gradually merged in the proud

¹ Rymer, xiii. 103, 104; Dugdale, i. 315.

² Malcolm, pp. 218, 225; Speed, p. 869.

³ Neale (part ii.), i. 7. Will of Henry VIII. (*Fuller's Church Hist.* A. D. 1546.)

⁴ Pennant, p. 29.

thought that, as the founders of a new dynasty he and his Queen would take the chief place 'in the common sepulchre of the kings of this realm' with 'his noble progenitors.'¹

The Chapel of Henry VII. is indeed well called by his name, for it breathes of himself through every part. It is the most signal example of the contrast between his closeness in life, and his 'magnificence in the structures he had left to posterity'² — King's College Chapel, the Savoy, Westminster. Its very style was believed to have been a reminiscence of his exile, being 'learned in France,' by himself and his companion Fox.³ His pride in its grandeur was commemorated by the ship, vast for those times, which he built, 'of equal cost with his Chapel,' 'which afterwards, in the reign of Mary, sank in the sea and vanished in a moment.'⁴

It was to be his chantry as well as his tomb, for he was determined not to be behind the Lancastrian princes in devotion; and this unusual anxiety
The
Chantry.
for the sake of a soul not too heavenward in its affections expended itself in the immense apparatus of services which he provided. Almost a second Abbey was needed to contain the new establishment of monks, who were to sing in their stalls⁵ 'as long as the world shall endure.'⁶ Almost a second Shrine, surrounded

¹ Will of Henry VII.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 555.

³ Speed, p. 757. This, however, is a mistake. It is partly English.

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 553.

⁵ The stalls at that time, and till the arrangements for the Knights of the Bath, left free entrance from the main Chapel into the north and south aisle on each side. These entrances were used on the occasion of the royal funerals in those aisles. See MS. *Heralds' College* in the funeral of Charles II.

⁶ Malcolm, pp. 226, 227. For the cost (£30,000, for purchasing lands for his chapel) see Pauli, v. 644.

by its blazing tapers, and shining like gold with its glittering bronze, was to contain his remains.

To the Virgin Mary, to whom the chapel was dedicated, he had a special devotion.¹ Her 'in all his necessities he had made his continual refuge;' and her figure, accordingly, looks down upon *The Saints.* his grave from the east end, between the apostolic patrons of the Abbey, Peter and Paul, with 'the holy company of heaven — that is to say, angels, archangels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and virgins,' to 'whose singular mediation and prayers he also trusted,' including the royal saints of Britain, St. Edward, St. Edmund, St. Oswald, St. Margaret of Scotland, who stand, as he directed, sculptured, tier above tier, on every side of the Chapel;² some retained from the ancient Lady Chapel; the greater part the work of his own age. Round his tomb stand his 'accustomed Avours or guardian saints' (as round the chapel probably were their altars), to whom 'he calls and cries' — 'St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Edward, St. Vincent, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Barbara,' each with their peculiar emblems, — 'so to aid, succour, and defend him, that the ancient and ghostly enemy, nor none other evil or damnable spirit, have no power to invade him, nor with their wickedness to annoy him, but with holy prayers to be intercessors for him to his Maker and Redeemer.'³ These were the adjurations of the last mediæval King, as the Chapel was the climax of the latest mediæval architecture. In the very urgency of the King's anxiety

¹ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, ii. 6, 7.)

² For the enumeration of these see Neale, ii. 39.

³ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, ii. 6, 7.)

for the perpetuity of those funeral ceremonies, we seem to discern an unconscious presentiment of terror lest their days were numbered.

But, although in this sense the Chapel hangs on tenaciously to the skirts of the ancient Abbey and the ancient church, yet that solemn architectural pause at its entrance — which arrests the most careless observer, and renders it a separate structure, a foundation 'adjoining the Abbey,' rather than forming part of it¹ — corresponds with marvellous fidelity to the pause and

The close of
the Middle
Ages.

VII.'s reign is the expression. It is the close of the Middle Ages: the apple of Granada in its orna-

The close
of the Civil
Wars.

ments shows that the last Crusade was over; its flowing draperies and classical attitudes indicate that the Renaissance had already begun. It is the end of the Wars of the Roses, combining Henry's right of conquest with his fragile claim of hereditary descent. On the one hand, it is the glorification of the victory of Bosworth. The angels, at the four corners of the tomb, held or hold the likeness of the crown which he won on that famous day. In the stained glass we see the same crown hanging on the green bush in the fields of Leicestershire. On the other hand, like the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, it asserts everywhere the memory of the 'holy Henry's shade;' the Red Rose of Lancaster appears in every pane of glass: and in every corner is the Portcullis — the 'Altera securitas,'² as he termed it, with an allusion to its own meaning, and the double safeguard of his succession — which he derived through John of Gaunt

¹ Neale, i. 18. For the Bulls relating to the Chapel, see Dugdale, i. 316-320.

² Neale (part ii.), i. 28; *Biog. Brit.* ii. 669; Roberts, ii. 257.

from the Beaufort Castle in Anjou, inherited from Blanche of Navarre by Edmund Crouchback ;¹ whilst Edward IV. and Elizabeth of York are commemorated by intertwining these Lancastrian symbols with the Greyhound of Cecilia Neville, wife of Richard Duke of York, with the Rose in the Sun, which scattered the mists at Barnet, and the Falcon on the Fetterlock,² by which the first Duke of York expressed to his descendants that 'he was locked up from the hope of the kingdom, but advising them to be quiet and silent, as God knoweth what may come to pass.'

It is also the revival of the ancient, Celtic, British element in the English monarchy, after centuries of eclipse. It is a strange and striking thought, The revival of the Celtic races. as we mount the steps of Henry VII.'s Chapel, that we enter there a mausoleum of princes, whose boast it was to be descended, not from the Confessor or the Conqueror, but from Arthur and Llewellyn ;³ and that round about the tomb, side by side with the emblems of the great English Houses, is to be seen the Red Dragon⁴ of the last British king, Cadwallader — 'the dragon of the great Pendragonship' of Wales, thrust forward by the Tudor king in every direction, to supplant the hated White Boar⁵ of his departed enemy —

¹ Stow, p. 11.

² He built his castle of Fotheringay in the form of a Fetterlock, and gave to his sons, who asked the Latin for 'fetterlock,' the expressive answer, *Hic hæc hoc taceatis*. (Dallaway's *Heraldic Inquiries*, 384, 385.) Edward IV. built the so-called Horse-shoe Cloister also in the form of a fetterlock.

³ Owen Tudor, the brother of Edmund, who was monk in the Abbey, was buried in the Chapel of St. Blaise. (Crull, p. 233.)

⁴ Grafton, ii. 158. — The banner of the Red Dragon of Cadwallader, on white and green silk, was carried at Bosworth. Hence the Rouge Dragon Herald.

⁵ Roberts's *York and Lancaster*, ii. 461, 463.

the fulfilment, in another sense than the old Welsh bards had dreamt, of their prediction that the progeny of Cadwallader should reign again : —

Visions of glory, spare my aching sight,
Ye unborn ages, crowd not on my soul !
No more our long-lost Arthur we bewail : —
All hail, ye genuine kings ! Britannia's issue, hail !¹

These noble lines well introduce us to the great Chapel which, as far as the Royal Tombs of the Abbey are concerned, contains within itself the whole future history of England. The Tudor sovereigns, uniting the quick understanding and fiery temper of their ancient Celtic lineage with the iron will of the Plantagenets, were the fit inaugurators of the new birth of England at that critical season — for guiding and stimulating the Church and nation to the performance of new duties, the fulfilment of new hopes, the apprehension of new truths.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, 'on the 24th day of January, at a quarter of an hour before three of the clock at afternoon of the same day,'² the first stone of the new Chapel was laid by Abbot Islip, Sir Reginald Bray the architect, and others. In this work, as usual, the old generation was at once set aside. Not only the venerable White Rose Inn of Chaucer's garden, but the old Chapels of St. Mary and of St. Erasmus,³ were swept away as ruthlessly as the Norman Church had been by Henry III. 'His granddame of right noble memory, Queen Catherine, wife to King Henry V., and daughter of Charles

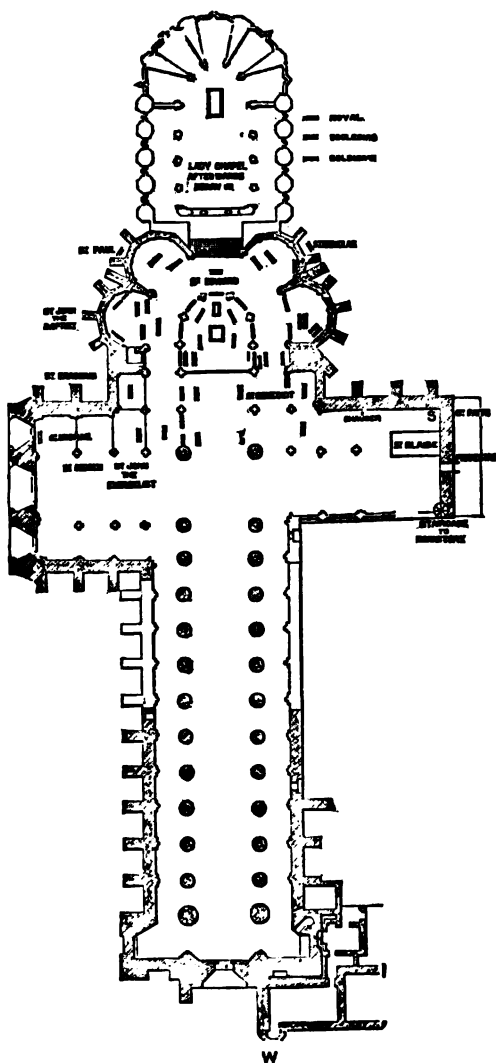
The beginning of modern England.

Jan. 24, 1503.
Building of the Chapel.

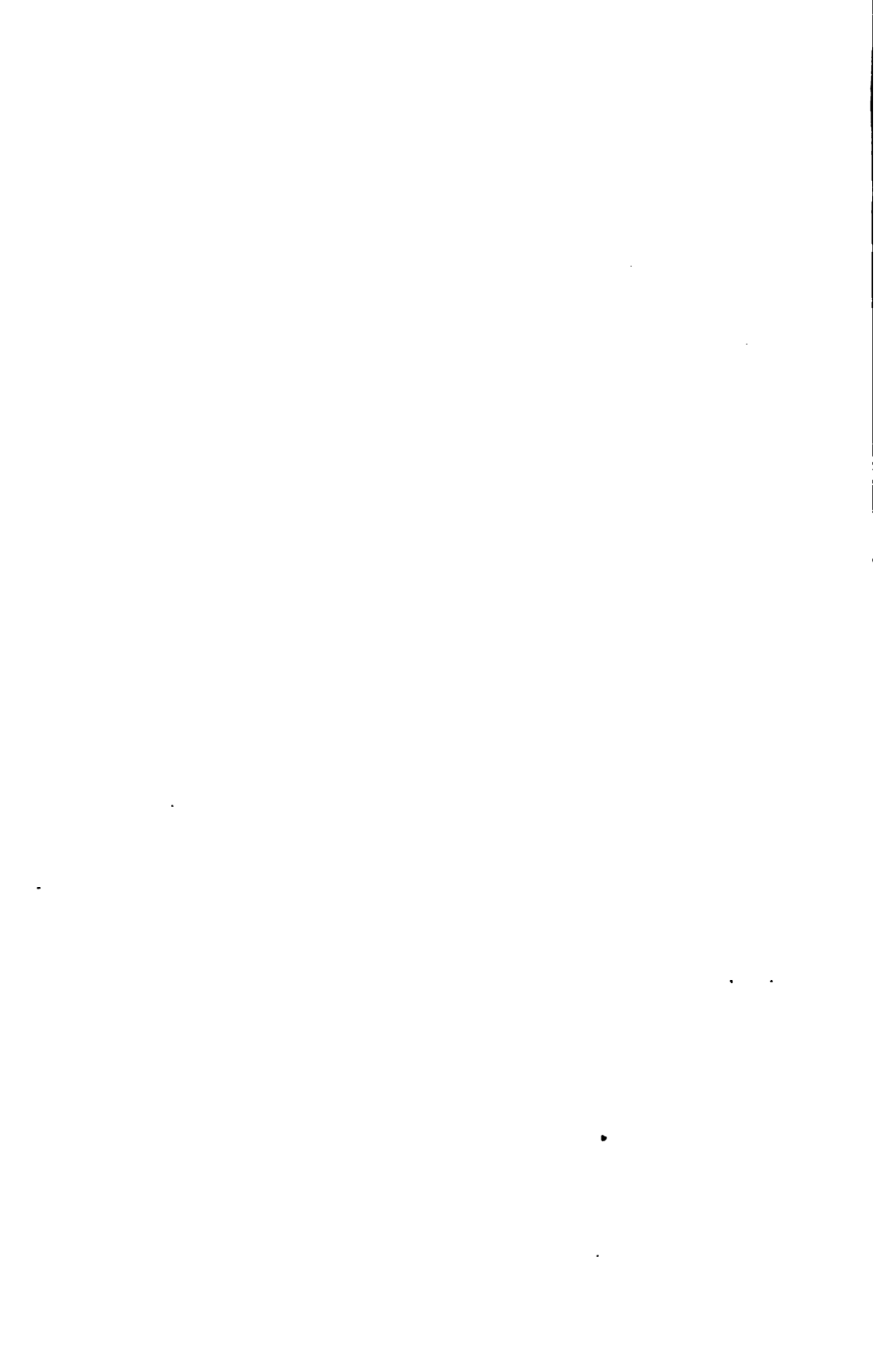
¹ Gray's *Bard*.

² Neale, ii. 6 ; Holinshed, iii. 529.

³ Probably in compensation for this the small chapel at the entrance of that of St. John the Baptist was dedicated to St. Erasmus.



PLAN OF THE TOMBS OF THE ABBEY IN 1509.



King of France' (for whose sake, amongst others, he had wished to be interred here), was thrust carelessly into the vacant space beneath her husband's Chantry. One last look had been cast backwards to the Plantagenet sepulchres. His infant daughter Elizabeth, aged three years and two months, was buried, with great¹ pomp, in a small tomb at the feet of Henry III. His infant son Edward, who died four years afterwards (1499), was also buried in the Abbey. The first grave in the new Chapel was that of his wife, Elizabeth of York. She died, in giving birth to a child, who survived but a short time :

Tomb of
Princess
Elizabeth,
Sept. 1495.

Elizabeth of
York, died
Saturday,
Feb. 11,
buried Feb.
25, 1508.

Adieu, sweetheart! my little daughter late,
Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
Thy mother never know; for here I lie.
. . . At Westminster, that costly work of yours,
Mine own dear lord, I now shall never see.²

The first stone of the splendid edifice in which she now lies had been laid but a month before, and she was meanwhile buried in one of the side³ chapels. The sumptuousness of her obsequies, in spite of Henry's jealousy of the House of York, and of his parsimonious habits, was justly regarded as a proof of his affection.⁴ At the entrance of the city she was met by twenty-seven maidens all in white with tapers, to commemorate her untimely death in her twenty-seventh year. Six years afterwards he died at the splendid palace

¹ Green's *Princesses*, iv. 507; Stow's *Survey*, ii. 600; Sandford, p. 478.

² More's *Elegy on Elizabeth of York*.

³ From a record communicated by Mr. Doyne Bell.

⁴ *Antiq. Repos.*, p. 654; Sandford, pp. 469-471; Strickland, iv. 60-62. — He spent £2832 6s. 8d. upon the funeral (Heralds' College, Privy Purse MS.)

which he had called by his own name of Richmond, at the ancient Sheen. His vehement protestations of amendment — bestowing promotions, if he lived, only on virtuous, able, and learned men, executing justice indifferently to all men; his expressions of penitence, passionately grasping the crucifix, and beating his breast, were in accordance with that dread of his last hour, out of which his sepulchre had arisen. The funeral corresponded to the grandeur of the mausoleum, which was now gradually advancing to its completion. From Richmond the procession came to St. Paul's, where elaborate obsequies were closed by a sermon from Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. At Westminster, after like obsequies, and a sermon from Fitz-james, Bishop of London, who had already preached on the death of the Queen and of Prince Arthur (on Job xix. 21), 'the black velvet coffin, marked by a white satin cross from end to end,' was deposited, not, as in the burials of previous Kings, in the raised tomb, but in the cavernous vault beneath, by the side of his Queen. The Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots stood round, and struck their croziers on the coffin, with the word *Absolvimus*. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) then cast in the earth. The vault was closed. The Heralds stripped off their tabards, and hung them on the rails of the hearse, exclaiming in French, 'The noble King Henry VII. is dead!' and then immediately put them on again, and cried, 'Vive le noble Roy Henry VIII.!'¹

So he 'lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than

¹ Leland, *Collect.* (part ii.) iv. 309.

he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish,' adds his magnificent historian, 'that he did the like in this monument of his fame.'¹

His effigy represents him still to us, as he was known by tradition to the next generation, 'a comely personage, a little above just stature,'² His effigy. well and straight-limbed, but slender,' with his scanty hair and keen grey eyes,³ 'his countenance reverend and a little like a churchman;' and 'as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed.'⁴ It was completed, within twenty years from his death, by the Florentine sculptor Torregiano, the fierce rival of Michael Angelo, who 'broke the cartilage of his enemy's nose, as if it had been paste.' He lived for most of that time within the precincts of the Abbey, and there performed the feats of pugilism against the 'bears of Englishmen,' of which he afterwards boasted at Florence.

Within three months another funeral followed. In the south aisle of the Chapel, graven by the same skilful hand, lies the most beautiful and venerable figure that the Abbey contains. It is Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., who died, and was buried, in the midst of the rejoicings of her grandson's marriage and coronation; her chaplain (Fisher) preaching again, with a far deeper earnestness, the funeral sermon, on the loss which, to him at least, could never be replaced. 'Everyone that knew her,' he said, 'loved her, and everything that she said or did became her.'⁵ . . . More noble and more refined than in

Tomb of
Margaret of
Richmond.
Died June
29, 1509,
aged 69.

¹ Bacon's *Henry VII.* iii. 417.

² 'Frontis honos, facies angusta, heroica forma.' (Epitaph.)

³ Grafton, ii. 232.

⁴ Bacon, p. 416.

⁵ Grafton, ii. 237.

any of her numerous portraits, her effigy well lies in that Chapel, for to her the King, her son, owed everything. For him she lived. To end the Civil Wars by his marriage with Elizabeth of York she counted as a holy duty.¹ Her tomb bears the heraldic² emblems of her third husband, the Earl of Derby. But she still remained faithful to the memory of her first youthful love, the father of Henry VII. She was always 'Margaret Richmond.'

Her outward existence belonged to the mediæval past. She lived almost the life, in death she almost wears the garb, of an Abbess. Even her marriage with Edmund Tudor was the result of a vision of St. Nicholas. The last English sigh for the Crusades went up from those lips. She would often say, that if the Princes of Christendom would combine themselves, and march against the common enemy, the Turk, she would most willingly attend them, and be their laundress in the camp.³ The bread and meat doled out to the poor of Westminster in the College Hall is the remnant of the old monastic charity which she founded in the Almonry.⁴

But in her monumental effigy is first seen, in a direct form, the indication of the coming changes, of which her son and his tomb are so tragically unconscious.

Foremost and bending from her golden cloud,
The venerable Margaret see!

So the Cambridge poet⁵ greets the Foundress of St. John's and Christ's Colleges, as of the two first Di-

¹ Hallstead's *Margaret Richmond*, p. 225.

² The antelope at her feet is the supporter of the arms of Lancaster. The daisies on the chapel gates represent her name.

³ Camden's *Remains*, i. 357; Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 167.

⁴ Stow, p. 476. See Chapter V.

⁵ Gray's *Installation Ode*.

vinity Chairs in either University. She, who was the instructress-general of all the Princes of the Royal House,¹ might by her own impulse have founded those great educational endowments. But her charity, like that of her contemporary, Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, was turned into academical channels by the warning which Fisher gave her of the approaching changes, in which any merely conventual foundations would perish, and any collegiate institutions would as certainly survive.² Caxton, as he worked at his printing-press, in the Almonry which she had founded, was under her special protection;³ and 'the worst thing she ever did' was trying to draw Erasmus from his studies to train her untoward stepson, James Stanley, to be Bishop of Ely.⁴ Strikingly are the old and the new combined, as, round the monument of that last mediæval Princess, we trace the letters of the inscription⁵ written by that first and most universal of the Reformers.

We feel, as we stand by her tomb, that we are approaching the great catastrophe. Yet in the Abbey, as in history, there is a momentary smoothness in the torrent ere it dashes below in the cataract of the Reformation. It was Prince Arthur's death⁶ — that silent prelude of the rupture with the See of Rome — which intercepted the magnificent window⁷ sent by the magistrates of Dort from Gouda as a present to Henry VII. for his

Death of
Prince
Arthur,
April 2, 1502.
Marriage
window.

¹ Jesse's *Richard III.*, p. 263.

² Hallstead, p. 226.

³ See Chapter V.

⁴ Coleridge's *Northern Worthies*, ii. 184.

⁵ Erasmus for this received twenty shillings.

⁶ £58 17s. 6d. was paid to the Abbot of Winchester for a hearse, possibly for Prince Arthur (*Excerpta Historica*, p. 129).

⁷ Now in St. Margaret's Church. See its curious history in Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, pp. 103, 136.

Chapel, as a wedding-gift for Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon. The first of the series of losses which caused Henry VIII. to doubt the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine is marked by the grave of the infant Prince Henry, who lies at the entrance either of this Chapel, or that of the Confessor.¹ He in that exulting youth, when all seemed so bright before him, had, it would seem, contemplated a yet further enlargement of the Abbey.

Death of
Prince
Henry, Feb.
22, 1509.

Another Chapel² was to rise for the tomb of himself and Catherine of Arragon. 'Peter Torrisany, of the city of Florence, graver,' was still to prolong his stay to make their effigies. Their sepulchre was to be one-fourth more grand than that of Henry VII. His father's tomb was the subject of his own special care. The first draft of it was altered because 'misliked by him;' and it forms the climax of Henry VII.'s virtues, as recorded in his epitaph, that to him and his Queen England owed a Henry VIII.:

Intended
tomb of
Henry VIII.

Henricum quibus Octavum, terra Anglia, debes.

To his determination that his father should be honoured almost as a canonised saint, was probably owing the circumstance that besides the humbler altar at the foot of the tomb, for which the vacant steps still remain, was erected by the same sculptor 'the matchless altar'³ at its head, as for the shrine of another Confessor.

¹ Crull, p. 218. — If so, perhaps in a small leaden coffin found in 1866 before the High Altar.

² *Archæologia*, xvi. 80. — A reminiscence of this may be found in the name of 'The Chapel of Henry VIII.' for the Revestry. (Dart, i. 64.) See also Chapter III.

³ Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155.

Nothing shows more clearly the force of the shock that followed, than the upheaving even of the solid rock of the Abbey as it came on. Nothing shows more clearly the hold which the Abbey had laid on the affections of the English people, than that it stood the shock as firmly as it did.

Not all the prestige of Royalty could save the treasures of the Confessor's Chapel. Then, doubtless, disappeared not only the questionable relics of the elder faith, but also the coronet of Llewellyn, and the banners and statues round the Shrine. Then even the bones of the Royal Saint were moved out of their place, and buried apart, till Mary brought them back to the Shrine which so long had guarded them. Then broke in the ^{The Reformation in the Abbey. 1538. August.} 1544. Jan. 30. robbers who carried off the brazen plates and silver head from the monument of Henry V.¹ Then all thought of enlarging or adorning the Abbey was extinguished in the mind of Henry, who turned away, perhaps with aversion, from the spot connected in his mind with the hated marriage of his youth, and determined that his bones should be laid at Windsor, beside his best beloved wife, Jane Seymour.² Then, as the tide of change in the reign of his son rose higher and higher, the monastic buildings became, in great part, the property of private individuals; the Chapter House was turned into a Record Office;³ and the Protector Somerset was believed to have meditated the demolition of the church itself.

The Abbey, however, still stands. It was saved, probably in Henry's time by the Royal Tombs, especially

¹ See Chapter VI.

² A splendid tomb was prepared for him in St. George's Chapel. (See Sandford, p. 494.)

³ See Chapter V.

by that of his father—just as Peterborough Cathedral was spared for the grave of his wife, Catherine of Arragon, and St. David's (according to the local tradition) for the tomb of his grandfather, Edmund Tudor. It was saved, it is said, under the more pitiless Edward, either by the rising of the inhabitants of Westminster in its behalf, or by the sacrifice of seventeen manors to satisfy the needs of the Protector. The Shrine too, although despoiled of its treasures within and without alone of all the tombs in England which had held the remains of a canonised saint, was allowed to remain.¹

It was natural that under Queen Mary so great a monument of the past should partake of the reaction of her reign. Not only was Westminster, almost alone of the monastic bodies, restored to something of its original splendour, but the link with Royalty was carefully renewed.² Mary's first anxiety was for her brother's fitting interment. For a whole month he lay unburied, during the long negotiations between Mary and her ministers as to the mode of the funeral rites.³ But they ended in his burial, not, as he himself probably would have designed, beside his father and mother at Windsor, but at Westminster. 'The greatest moan was made for him as ever was heard or seen.' He was brought from Whitehall the night before 'without cross or light.'⁴ The procession from the Palace to the Abbey was a mass of black velvet. Side by side with the banner of his own mother Jane Seymour waved the banner of his sister's mother,⁵ Catherine of Arragon. He was

EDWARD
VI., died
July 6,
buried Aug.
8, 1553.

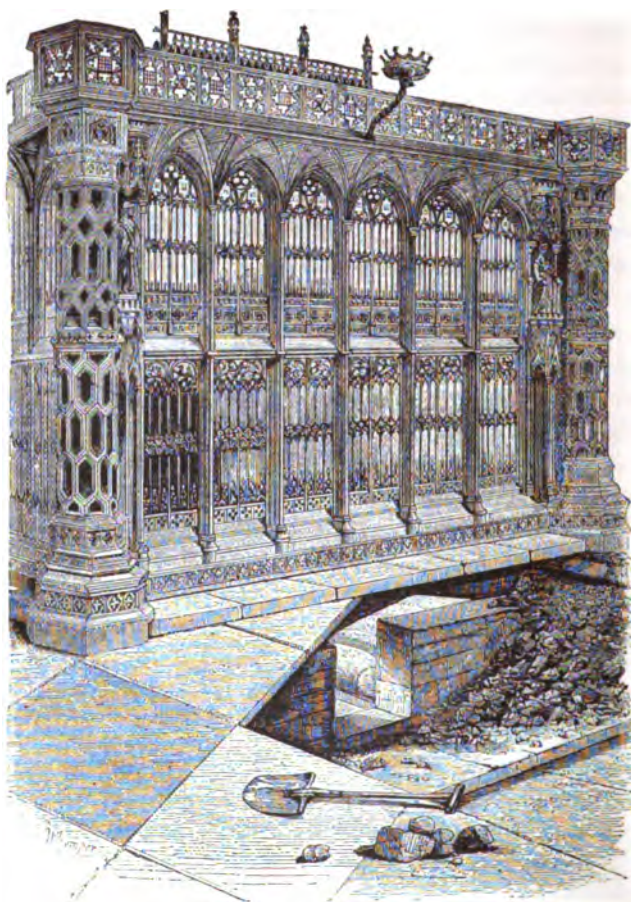
¹ See Chapter VI.

² Ibid.

³ Froude, vi. 38, 42, 49, 58.

⁴ *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 82.

⁵ Machyn's *Diary*, Aug. 8, 1553.



ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF HENRY VII. AS SEEN ON OPENING THE
VAULT IN 1869.

FROM A DRAWING BY GEORGE SCHARF, ESQ.

the first King that had been buried in the Abbey since his grandfather had built his gorgeous receptacle for the Tudor dynasty. Not in the vault itself of Henry VII., fully occupied as it was by Henry himself and Elizabeth of York, but in the passage by which it is approached, underneath the sumptuous 'touchstone altar, all of one piece,' with its 'excellent workmanship of brass,'¹ 'the last male child of the Tudor line' was laid. Mary herself was absent, at the requiem sung in the Tower under the auspices of Gardiner. But, by a hard-won concession, the funeral service was that of the Reformed Church of England, the first ever used over an English sovereign; and 'the last and saddest function of his public ministry that Archbishop Cranmer was destined to perform,' was this interment of the Prince whom he had baptized and crowned.² On his coffin had been fastened a leaden plate bearing an inscription, doubtless immediately after his death, unique in the tombs of English sovereigns, reciting that he was 'on earth, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland the supreme head;' and proceeding to record with a pathetic and singular earnestness the precise hour 'in the evening,' when in the close of that long and stormy day of the 6th of July he 'departed from this life.'³

¹ Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155; Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 37. — An engraving is to be seen in Sandford (p. 498). It resembled Elizabeth's tomb in style. There was an altarpiece of the Resurrection, surmounted by angels, in terra cotta, at the top holding the emblems of the Passion, and a dead Christ beneath. These were the work of Torregiano. (See the Indenture quoted in Neale, vol. i. pt. ii. 58.)

² Froude, vi. 58. — Day, Bishop of Chichester, 'preached a good sermon,' and Cranmer administered the Communion, 'and that poorly.' (Strype's *E. M.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 122; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 82.)

³ See Appendix.

It is one of our many paradoxes, that the first Protestant Prince should have thus received his burial from the bitterest enemy of the Protestant cause, and that the tomb under which he reposed should have been the altar built for the chanting of masses which he himself had been the chief means of abolishing. It is a still greater paradox, that 'he, who deserved the *best*, should have *no* monument erected to his memory,'¹ and that the only royal memorial destroyed² by the Puritans should have been that of the only Puritan Prince who ever sate on the English throne.

The broken chain of royal sepulchres, which Mary thus pieced anew in her brother's grave, was carried on. Anne of Cleves, a friend both to Mary and Elizabeth — whose strange vicissitudes had conducted her from her quiet Lutheran birthplace in the Castle of Cleves, to a quiet death as a Roman Catholic convert, at Chelsea — was interred, by Mary's restored monks, on the south side of the altar. She was carried³ past St. James's Palace and Charing Cross. Bonner, as Bishop of London, and Feckenham, as Abbot of Westminster, rode together. The scholars, the almsmen, and the monks went before. Bonner sang mass, and Feckenham preached.⁴ An artist was brought from Cleves to construct the tomb. But it was left to be finished by Dean Neale in the reign of James I.⁵

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 37.

² In 1643. (Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155. See Chapter VI.) The name on the grave was first inscribed in 1866. See Appendix.

³ Machyn's *Diary*, Aug. 3, 1557.

⁴ *Excerpta Historica*, 295. The funeral ceremony is given, 303.

⁵ Neale, ii. 283. — It is marked by initials A. C. A bas-relief, by some supposed to have been intended for it, was found in 1865 packed

Mary soon followed. With 'Calais on her heart' she was borne from St. James's Palace to Henry VII.'s Chapel, and thus became the first occupant of the north aisle, here as in Edward's Chapel, the favoured side. Bishop White preached on the text 'A living dog is better than a dead lion.' Heath, Archbishop of York, closed the service. The black cloth in which the Abbey was draped was torn down by the people before the ceremony¹ was well over. Her obsequies were, with one exception, the last funeral solemnity of the Roman Church celebrated in the Abbey: that exception was the dirge and requiem ordered by Elizabeth, a few days later, for Charles V., 'Emperor of Rome.'²

QUEEN
MARY, died
Nov. 17,
buried Dec.
18, 1558.

Obsequies of
Charles V.,
Dec. 24,
1558.

The grave of Mary bore witness to the change that succeeded on her death. The altars which she had re-erected, or which had survived the devastation of her brother's reign, were destroyed by her sister. The fragments of those which stood in Henry VII.'s Chapel were removed, and carried to 'where Mary was buried, perhaps toward the making of her monument with those religious stones.'³ It was, however, forty-five years before the memory of her unhappy reign would allow a word to indicate her sepulchre. At last the hour of reconciliation came. Queen Elizabeth, the third foundress of the institution, and who

April 16,
1561.

in the Revestry. It was evidently made for a Roman Catholic, but probably one of a later date. The tomb seems to have been apparently built on the site of an older tomb—probably of an Abbot. See Chapter VI.

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, Dec. 13, 1558.

² Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, p. 251; Machyn, Dec. 23, 1558.

³ Strype's *Annals*, i. pt. i. p. 400; Machyn, April 16, 1561.

clung to it with peculiar affection, had breathed her last on the cushioned floor in Richmond Palace. The body was brought by the Thames to Westminster :

The Queen did come by water to Whitehall,
The oars at every stroke did tears let fall.¹

With these and other like exaggerations, which, however, indicate the excess of the national mourning, she was laid in the Abbey. 'The City of Westminster was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people, in their streets, houses, windows, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequy; and when they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the coffin, set forth in royal robes, having a crown upon the head thereof, and a ball and sceptre in either hand, there was such a general sighing, groaning, and weeping, as the like has not been seen or known in the memory of man; neither doth any history mention any people, time, or state, to make like lamentation for the death of their sovereign.'² In the twelve banners which were carried before her, her descent from the House of York was carefully emblazoned, to the exclusion of the Lancastrian line.³ On the oaken covering of the leaden coffin was carefully engraved the double rose with the simple august initials 'E. R., 1603.' Dean Andrews preached the funeral sermon. Raleigh was present as captain of the guard. It was his last public act. She was carried, doubtless

QUEEN
ELIZABETH,
died March
24, buried
April 28,
1603.

¹ Camden's *Remains*, p. 524. See Chapter VI.

² Stow, p. 815. The effect was increased by the fact that so many were there in mourning for the plague. (St. John's *Raleigh*, ii. 73.)

³ Programme of the funeral, in the tract called *England's Mourning Garment*, and *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. plate 18, where there is also an engraving of a sketch of it (now in the British Museum) supposed to have been drawn by Camden.

by her own desire, to the North Aisle of Henry VII's Chapel, to the unmarked grave of her unfortunate predecessor. At the head of the monument raised by her successor over the narrow vault¹ are to be read two lines full of a far deeper feeling than we should naturally have ascribed to him — '*Regno consortes et urnâ, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria, sorores, in spe resurrectionis.*' The long war of the English Reformation is closed in those words. In that contracted sepulchre, admitting of none other but those two, the stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary. The sisters are at one: the daughter of Catherine of Arragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn repose in peace at last.

Her own monument is itself a landmark of English history and of the Abbey. There had been a prediction, which the nameless graves of Edward and ^{Tomb of} Mary had thus far justified, that 'no child of ^{Queen} Elizabeth. Henry VIII. should ever be buried with any memory.' This 'blind prophecy' it was now determined to frustrate. 'Rather than fail in payment² for Queen Elizabeth's tomb, neither the Exchequer nor London shall have a penny left.' Considering the little love between the two, its splendour is a tribute to the necessity which compelled the King to recognise the universal feeling of the nation. Disfigured as it is, it represents the

¹ See Appendix. Compare Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, p. 221.

² Letter of Viscount Cranbourne to Sir Thomas Lake. (*State Papers*, 1609.) It was made of white marble and touchstone from the Royal store at Whitehall. Warrant of James I. to Viscount Cranbourne. (*Ibid.*) The cost, which was not to exceed £600 (*ibid.*), reached £965, 'besides stonework.' It was erected by Maximilian Poutram. (MS. in the possession of Baroness North.) For the wax effigy, see Chapter IV.

great Queen as she was best known to her contemporaries; and of all the monuments, in the Abbey, it was the one for many years the widest known throughout the whole kingdom. Far into the next century, Fuller could still speak of 'the lively draught of it, pictured in every London and in most country churches, every parish being proud of the shade of her tomb; and no wonder, when each loyal subject created a mournful monument for her in his heart.'¹ It is probable that this thought was suggested by one such copy, amongst many, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, with the lines:—

St. Peter's Church at Westminster,
Her sacred body doth inter;
Her glorious soul with angels sings,
Her deeds have patterns been for kings,
Her love in every heart hath room;
This only shadows forth her tomb.²

So ended the Tudor tombs in the Chapel of their Founder. But the Stuarts were not slow in vindicating their right to be considered as Kings of England, by regarding Westminster Abbey as their new THE STUARTS Dunfermline or Holyrood. The Scottish dynasty lies side by side with the Welsh. Already there had been laid in the western end of the South Aisle, of which the eastern end was occupied by Margaret Countess of Richmond, another Margaret, far less Margaret Lennox, 1577. eminent in character, but claiming her place here as the link between the English and the Scottish thrones. Margaret Lennox, daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, and wife of Stuart Earl of Lennox,³ after a series of family disasters, died in poverty at what was then the suburban village of

¹ *Church History*, book x. § 12.

² *Londiniana*, i. 243.

³ For her character, see Froude's *History*, xi. 72.

Hackney; and was, in consideration of her kinship with no less than twelve sovereigns (as her epitaph records), buried here at the expense of Queen Elizabeth. The monument, 'bargained for' and 'appointed to be made' by herself in her will,¹ was partly erected by her grandson, James I. Round it kneel her children — Henry Darnley, marked, by the fragments of the crown above his head, as the unfortunate King of Scotland;² and Charles Stuart, 'father to the Ladie Arbell,' who at his mother's request, as stated in her will, was removed from Hackney, where he had been buried, to the vault beneath.³

Next to this tomb — by a double proximity, as remarkable as that which has laid Mary Tudor with Elizabeth — is the grave of Mary Stuart. We need not follow her obsequies from Fotheringay Castle to the neighbouring Cathedral of Peterborough. But the first Stuart king of England who raised the monument to his predecessor was not likely to overlook his mother. The letter is still extant, and now hangs above the site of her grave at Peterborough, in which James I. ordered the removal of her body to the spot where he had commanded a memorial of her to be made in the Church of Westminster, 'in the place where the kings and queens of this realm are commonly interred,' that the 'like honour might be done to the body of his dearest

Mary Queen
of Scots;
executed
1587; trans-
ferred from
Peter-
borough,
Oct. 4, 1612.

¹ The will is printed in the *Darnley Jewel*, p. 63. It was made in the year of her death.

² 'He is here entombed,' says Crull (p. 95). But he probably remains at Holyrood.

³ *Epitaph*. Through the leaden coffin the parched skin could be seen in 1711. (Crull, p. 119.) In 1624 was laid in the same vault his cousin Henry Esme Duke of Lennox. (See Chapter IV. and Appendix.)

mother, and the like monument be extant of her, that had been done to his dear sister, the late Queen Elizabeth.¹ A vault was made in the South Aisle, close to that of the mother of Darnley. In the centre of the north wall of that new vault, hereafter to be thronged by her unfortunate descendants, the leaden coffin was placed.² Over it was raised a monument 'like to that of Elizabeth,' but on a grander scale, as if to indicate the superiority of the mother to the predecessor, of the victim to the vanquisher. Her elaborate epitaph is closed by the words from St. Peter,³ recommending the Saviour's example of patient suffering. Her tomb was revered by devout Scots as the shrine of a canonised saint. 'I hear,' says Demster, thirteen years after the removal of the remains from Peterborough, 'that her bones, lately translated to the burial-place of the Kings of England at Westminster, are resplendent with miracles.'⁴ This probably is the latest instance of a miracle-working tomb in England, and it invests the question of Queen Mary's character with a theological as well as an historical interest.

In the tombs of the two rival Queens, the series of
End of the
Royal Monu-
ments. Royal Monuments is brought to an end.⁵
 Elizabeth and Mary are the last sovereigns

¹ See Appendix.

² Ibid.

³ 1 Pet. i. 21, 22.

⁴ Demster, *Hist. Eccl. Ant. Scot.* ed. Bannatyne Club, 1829. — It was published at Bologna in 1627, but written before 1626, as the author died in 1625. Communicated by the late Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh.

⁵ This blank appears to have struck Sir Roger de Coverley. 'The glorious names of Henry the Fifth and of Queen Elizabeth gave the knight great opportunities of shining and of doing justice to Sir Richard Baker, who, as our knight observed with some surprise, had a great many kings in him, whose monuments he had not seen in the Abbey.' (*Spectator*, No. 329.) The context seems to show some confusion between Henry V. and Henry VII.

in whom the gratitude of a successor or the affection of a nation have combined to insist on so august a memorial. It may have been the result of the circumstances or the character of the succeeding sovereigns. Charles I. was indifferent to the memory of James I. Charles II. wasted on himself the money which Parliament granted to him for the monument to Charles I. James II., even if he had cared sufficiently, reigned too short a time to erect a monument to his brother. William III. and Mary were not likely to be honoured by Anne, nor Anne by George I., nor George I. by George II., nor George II. by George III. But, in fact, a deeper than any personal feeling was behind. Even in France the practice was dying out. At St. Denys the royal tombs ceased after that of Henri II. Princes were no longer, as they had been, the only rulers of the nation. With Elizabeth began the tombs of Poets' Corner; with Cromwell a new impetus was given to the tombs of warriors and statesmen; with William III. began the tombs of the leaders of Parliament.¹ Other figures than those of Kings began to occupy the public eye. Yet even as the monarchy, though shrunk, yet continued, so also the graves, though not the monuments, of sovereigns — the tombs, if not of sovereigns, yet of royal personages — still keep up the shadow of the ancient practice.

Two infant children of James I., Mary and Sophia, lie in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, under the urn, which, probably from their neighbourhood, Charles II. erected, in what may thus be called the Innocents' Corner, to receive the remains of the two murdered York princes which he brought from the

¹ See Chapter IV.

Tower.¹ Of Mary — the first of his children born in England, and therefore the first 'Princess of Great Britain,' — James used 'pleasantly to say,' with his usual mixture of theology and misplaced wit, 'that he would not pray to the Virgin Mary, but would pray for the Virgin Mary.'² She was, according to her father, 'a most beautiful infant;' and her death, at the age of two years and a half, is described as peculiarly touching. The little creature kept repeating, 'I go, I go' — 'Away I go;' and again a third time, 'I go, I go.'³ Her coffin was brought in a coach to the Deanery, and thence through the cloisters to the Abbey.⁴ In the same year had died Sophia,⁵ *rosula regia præpropere fato decerpta*, who lived but a day. The King 'took her death as a wise prince should, and wished her to be buried in Westminster Abbey, as cheaply as possible, without any solemnity or funeral;' ⁶ 'sleeping in her cradle [the cradle is itself the tomb], wherewith vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, are more affected (as level to their cognisance, more capable of what is pretty than what is pompous) than with all the magnificent monuments in Westminster.'⁷

Princess
Mary, died
Dec. 16,
1607.

Princess
Sophia, 1607,
buried June
23, 1607.

¹ The bones of the York Princes were placed in 'Monk's vault,' 1678 (Dart, i. 167), but only till the urn was ready. It was made by Wren. See Appendix.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

³ Green's *Princesses*, ii. 91-95. — Margaret Lennox was chief mourner. (Sandford, p. 537.)

⁴ Dart, i. 167.

⁵ The first Sophia of English history, herself called after her grandmother, Sophia of Denmark, and bequeathing her name to her niece, the Electress of Hanover. (Strickland's *Queens of Scotland*, viii. 286; *Life of Arabella Stuart*, ii. 89.)

⁶ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 129. It cost £140. (Lodge's *Illustrations*, iii. 309.)

⁷ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, in whose grave were buried the hopes of the Puritan party, was laid in the South Aisle of the Chapel, 'under his grandmother's monument,'¹ in the vault which had been just made for her. He died 'on a day of triumph'² for a former memorable deliverance (Nov. 5), and in the heat of preparation for his sister's marriage. So we are all turned to black, and exceeding much mournfulness.'³ His funeral was attended by 2,000 mourners. Nine banners went before, each preceded by 'two trumpeters that sounded woefully.' His effigy was clothed with the richest garments he had, which 'did so lively represent his person, as that it did not only draw tears from the severest beholders, but caused a fearful outcry among the people, as if they felt their own ruin in that loss.'⁴ His friend, Archbishop Abbott, who had attended his last hours, preached the sermon on Psalm lxxxii. 6, 7.⁵ The absence of any special monument for one so deeply lamented, caused much comment at the time. Three years later Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Lennox, and cousin of James I., after her troubled life, 'was brought at midnight by the dark river from the Tower,' and laid 'with no solemnity' upon the coffin of Mary Stuart — her coffin without a plate, and so frail, that the skull and bones were seen as far back as the record of visitors extends, visible

Prince
Henry, died
Nov. 6,
buried Dec.
8, 1612.

Arabella
Stuart,
buried Sept.
27, 1615.

¹ So the Burial Register.

² State Papers, Nov. 11, 1612.

³ Giles Fletcher, and others in Pettigrew's *Epitaphs*, p. 314.

'If wise, amard, depart this holy grave,
Nor these new ashes ask what name they have :
The graver in concealing them was wise,
For whose learns, strait melts in tears and dies.'

⁴ State Papers, Dec. 19, 1612.

⁵ Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 363, 522.

through its shattered frame. 'To have had a great funeral for one dying out of the King's favour would have reflected on the King's honour.'¹

Anne of Denmark next followed. She died at Somerset House, called, from her, Denmark House, after making a dying profession of her faith, 'free from Popery.' The King, detained by illness at Newmarket, was unable to be present at her funeral. It was postponed again and again till more than two months from her death. 'There was no money to put the King's servants in mourning.' It was intended to have been three times more costly than Queen Elizabeth's, but the public expectation was disappointed with the general effect. There was a long procession of two hundred and fifty ladies in black — 'a drawling dolorous sight — lagging, tired with the length of the way.' The Dean of Westminster (Tounson) was charged to find 'a convenient place for her,' and she was laid — at least she now lies — alone in a spacious vault² in the north-easternmost recess of Henry VII's Chapel. Archbishop Abbott preached on Psalm cxlvi 3.³

In five years followed King James himself. Abbott, now so aged as to need a supporter, performed the service. The French ambassadors would be content with no place⁴ short of parity with the chief mourner, Charles I., even though

Anne of
Denmark,
died March
2, buried
May 13,
1619.

JAMES I.,
died March
27, buried
May 5, 1625.

¹ Register; Keepe, p. 105; *Life of Arabella Stuart*, ii. 246, 298. For the tomb of Lewis Stuart, Duke of Richmond, see Chapter IV.

² Herald's College and Lord Chamberlain's Office. State Papers, March 27, April 16, 1619. See Appendix.

³ The Prince Palatine sate in the Dean's stall; the Lord Chancellor (Bacon) in the scholars' pew. (Harl. MS. 5176.)

⁴ From Sir J. Finet, the Master of the Ceremonies. (Philoxena, p. 150.)

they had occasionally to walk in the kennel to keep their places. The Venetian ambassador insisted on wearing the same mourning as the French. Not with his predecessor, nor with his mother, nor with his wife, nor with his children, but in the august tomb of Henry VII., founder of the Chapel and of the dynasty through which the Stuarts claimed their throne, was laid the founder of the new race of kings. Edward VI. must for the moment have been disturbed, and Elizabeth of York displaced, to receive the unwieldy coffin. But the entrance was effected, and with his great-grandparents the Scottish King reposes as in a patriarchal sepulchre.¹ His funeral sermon was preached by Dean Williams, who, with an ingenuity worthy of James himself, compared the dead King in eight particulars to Solomon. His hearse was of unusual splendour, a masterpiece, as it was thought, of Inigo Jones.² A scheme for a monument in the classical style was devised but never executed.³

Charles I.'s two infant children were the first to follow. Theirs were the first of that vast crowd of small coffins that thronged their grandmother's vault. One was his eldest-born, Charles, over whose short life the Roman Catholic priests of his mother and the Anglican chaplains of the father fought for the privilege of baptizing him.⁴ The other was the Princess Anne, who, on her deathbed at four years old, 'was not able to say her long prayer (meaning the Lord's Prayer), but said she would say her short one, — "Lighten mine eyes, Lord, lest I sleep the sleep of death," and so the little⁵ lamb gave up the ghost.'

Prince
Charles,
buried May
13, 1629.
Anne, died
Dec. 8, 1640.

¹ See Appendix.

² See note at end of Chapter IV.

³ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, 223.

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

⁵ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 108; Sandford, p. 608; Fisher, p. 288.

Two years after the death of this 'little innocent,' the Royal Abbey passed into the hands of the Commonwealth and the Protector. The changes of its constitution will appear as we proceed. But its outward fabric was hardly injured. The Royal Monuments, which cruelly suffered under Henry VIII., received, so far as we know, no harm¹ under Cromwell; and the Abbey, so far from losing its attractions, drew into it not only, as we shall see,² the lesser magnates of the Commonwealth, but also the Protector himself. Nothing shows more completely how entirely he regarded himself as the founder of a royal dynasty than his determination that he and his whole family should lie amongst the Kings of England. Already at the time of Essex's funeral, in 1646, the public mind was prepared for his burial in Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'with the immortal turf of Naseby under his head.'³ Three members of his family were interred there before his death — his sister Jane,⁴ who married General Disbrowe; his venerable mother, Elizabeth Stuart, through whom his descent was traced to the brother of the founder of the Stuarts; and Elizabeth Claypole, his favourite daughter.⁵

Jane Disbrowe, died 1656.
Elizabeth Cromwell, died Nov. 18, 1654, aged 96.
Elizabeth Claypole, died Aug. 6, 1658.
OLIVER CROMWELL, died Sept. 3, 1658.

'At three o'clock in the afternoon' of the 3rd of September, 'a day of triumph and

¹ Dart speaks of injuries to the Confessor's Shrine; but these must have been chiefly confined to the altar at its west end. (See Chapter VI.)

² See Chapters IV. and VI.

³ Vines's *Sermon on Essex's Funeral*. See Chapter IV.

⁴ Nichols's *Col. Top.* viii. 153. Amongst the family must be reckoned 'Anne Fleetwood,' mentioned in the warrant for disinterment (see Appendix), who may be a daughter of the General Fleetwood, and granddaughter of Cromwell.

⁵ She died at Hampton Court August 6, and was laid in state in the Painted Chamber, and thence was buried on August 10 in a vault

thanksgivings for the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester, his most serene and renowned highness Oliver Lord Protector was taken to his rest.'¹ The arrangements of the funeral were left to Mr. Kinnersley, Master of the Wardrobe, who, 'being suspected to be inclined to Popery, recommended the solemnities used at the like occasion for Philip the Second, who had been represented to be in Purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somerset House, the apartment hung with black, the daylight excluded, and no other but that of wax tapers to be seen. This scene of Purgatory continued till the 1st of November, which being the day preceding that commonly called "All Souls," he was removed into the great hall of the said House, and represented in effigy standing on a bed of crimson velvet, covered with a gown of the like coloured velvet, a sceptre in his hand, and a crown on his head. . . . Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks, so placed round near the roof of the Hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun, by all which he was represented to be in a state of glory.'² The profusion of the ceremony, it is

made on purpose. Her aunt, the wife of Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, was chief mourner. (*Mercurius Politicus*.) She is the 'Betty' of Oliver's earlier letters, 'who belongs to the sect rather of seekers than of finders. Happy are they who find — most happy are they who seek!' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 295.) See Appendix.

¹ *Commonwealth Mercury*, Sept. 2-9, 1658.

² Ludlow, pp. 259, 260. I cannot find that Philip II.'s funeral was so conducted. In fact, the Protector's corpse was removed from Whitehall to Somerset House on Sept. 20, and the state show began on Oct. 18. (*Commonwealth Mercury*, Nov. 18-25, 1658.) The expenses were paid by Parliament to Richard Cromwell. The Royalist interpretation was that it was designed to bring Richard in debt, and so ruin him, which in effect it did. The sum expended was £60,000, more by one-half than ever was used for royal funerals. (Heath's *Chron.*, p. 411;

said, so far provoked the people that they threw dirt, in the night, on his escutcheon, placed over the great gate.

At the east end of Henry VII.'s Chapel, a vault had been prepared, which many years afterwards was still called 'Oliver's,' or 'Oliver Cromwell's vault.'¹

Burial of
OLIVER
CROMWELL,
Sept. 26;

funeral,
Nov. 23,
1658.

Its massive walls, abutting immediately on the royal vault of Henry VII., are the only addition to the structure of the Abbey dating from the Commonwealth. Here 'the last ceremony of honour was paid to the memory of him, to whom (so thought his adherents²) posterity will pay (when envy is laid asleep by time) more honour than they were able to express.' Two Royalists who stood by, and saw the procession pass, have also recorded their feelings.³ 'It was,' says Cowley, 'the funeral day of the man late who made himself to be called Protector. . . . I found there had been much more cost bestowed than either the dead man, or even death itself, could deserve. There was a mighty train of black assistants; the hearse was magnificent, the idol crowned; and (not to mention all other ceremonies which are practised at royal interments, and therefore could be by no means omitted here) the vast multitude of spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the spectacle itself. But yet, I know not how, the whole was so managed, that methought it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; much noise, much tumult, much expense, much mag-

Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 605; Noble's *Cromwell*, Appendix B.) The hearse was of the same form as, only more stately than, that of James I. (Heath's *Chron.*, p. 413.)

¹ Register, May 25, 1691; August 29, 1701.

² *Commonwealth Mercury*, Nov. 23, 1658.

³ For the like feelings inside the Abbey, see Chapter VI.

nificence, much vain glory : briefly, a great show and yet, after all this, but an ill sight.' 'It was,' says Evelyn, 'the joyfulest funeral that I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with as barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.' It is said that the actual interment, from the state of the corpse, had taken place two months before in private;¹ and this mystery probably fostered the fables which, according to the fancies of the narrators, described the body as thrown into the Thames,² or laid in the field of Naseby,³ or in the coffin of Charles I. at Windsor,⁴ or in the vault of the Claypoles in the parish church of Northampton,⁵ or 'carried away in the tempest the night before.'⁶

The fact, however, of his interment at Westminster is proved beyond doubt by the savage ceremonial which followed the Restoration. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were dug up on the eve of the 30th of January, 1661; and on the following day dragged to Tyburn, hanged (with their faces turned towards Whitehall),⁷ decapitated, and buried under the gallows.⁸ The plate found on the breast of the corpse, with the inscription, passed into the possession of the sergeant who took up the body, from

Disinterment of
Cromwell's
remains,
Jan. 29,
1660-1.

¹ *Elenchus mortuorum*, pt. ii. p. 231.

² Oldmixon's *Stuarts*, i. 426.

³ *Barkstead's Complete History*, iii. 228; *Biog. Brit.* iii. 1573.

⁴ *Pepys's Diary*, Oct. 14, 1664.

⁵ This tradition is based on two gravestones over the Claypole vault at Northampton, one with the letters E. C., supposed to be Elizabeth Claypole; one without inscription, supposed to be her father. It is disproved by the discovery of her grave in the Abbey. (See Appendix.)

⁶ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 187.

⁷ *Pepys's Diary*, Jan. 30, 1660-1; Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 192.

⁸ *I.e.* near Connaught Square.

whom it descended, through his daughter, Mrs. Giffard, into the hands of the Hobarts, and from them to the present Marquis of Ripon.¹ The head was planted on the top of Westminster Hall, on one side, as Ireton's on the other side, of Bradshaw's, which was set up in the centre,² as over the place in which he had passed judgment, 'to be the becoming spectacle of his treason, where, on that pinnacle and legal advancement, it is fit to leave this ambitious wretch.'³

No mark was left to indicate the spot where Oliver, with his kindred, lay beneath his stately hearse. Nor yet where his favourite daughter still continued to repose, in her separate grave.⁴

With the Restoration the burials of the legitimate Princes recommenced, in a gloom — it may be added, a privacy — singularly contrasting with the joyous solemnity of the return. Charles I. himself, who had been buried at Windsor, was to have been transported to Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, and reinterred, under a splendid tomb, to be executed by Wren.⁵ 'And many good people thought this so necessary, that they were much troubled that it was not done.' The 'reasons given were not liked,' — the apprehension of a disturbance, the length of time that had passed, but chiefly the difficulty of finding the grave. Since the discovery of the body at Windsor, in 1813, exactly where it was said to have been interred, we know that this reason was fictitious,

THE RES-
TORATION.
Intended
tomb of
Charles I.

¹ Barkstead, iii. 229; Noble's *Cromwell*; and *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1867.

² Pepys's *Diary*, Jan. 5, 1661-2. — They seem then to have been inside the Hall.

³ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 192. — The traditions of the fate of Cromwell's skull are too intricate to be here described.

⁴ See Chapter IV.

⁵ The plan is in All Souls' College Library.

and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the King had appropriated to himself the money (£70,000) granted for this purpose. The Abbey, no doubt, was fortunate to escape the intrusion of what would have been, architecturally, the only thoroughly incongruous of all the regal monuments.¹

The other members of the House of Stuart followed fast even amidst the rejoicings of the Restoration, to the royal sepulchre, and were all laid in the vault of their ancestress Mary. First came Henry of Oatlands, Duke of Gloucester, the child who said he would be torn in pieces before he should be made King in his elder brother's place. He

Henry
Duke of
Gloucester,
died Sept.
18, buried
Sept. 21,
1660.

died of the small-pox,² at Whitehall, 'the mirth and entertainments of that time had raised his blood so high.'³ Nothing ever affected his heartless royal brother so deeply.⁴ Next came Mary of

Mary of
Orange,
buried Dec.
29, 1660.

Orange, mother of William III., laid, by her own desire, close to the Duke of Gloucester, 'honourably though privately buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel.'⁵ She had visited England 'to congratulate the

happiness of her brother's miraculous restoration.'⁶ And within the next year, 'after all her sorrows and afflictions,' Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia,⁷ eldest daughter of James I., and mother of the Electress Sophia, who died at Leicester

Elizabeth
of Bohemia,
buried Feb.
17, 1661-2.
Prince
Rupert, died
Nov. 25,
buried Dec.
6, 1682.

¹ Clarendon's *Life*, ii. 15; *History*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 393; Wood's *Ath. Ox.* ii. 703; Sir Henry Hallford's *Essays*, pp. 157-192.

² Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 172, 292.

³ Pepys's *Diary*, Sept. 5, 13, 15, 17, and 21 (1660).

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 204.

⁵ Ashmole apparently was present. (Green's *Princesses*, vi. 331.) Dean Earles preached on Luke ii. 12-14 on Christmas Day. He alluded to the public sorrow. (Evelyn, ii. 161.)

⁶ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 117.

⁷ Green's *Princesses*, vi. 84.

House. 'The night of her burial fell such a storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, as was never seen the like.'¹ Her son, Prince Rupert, who had usually been brought out as chief mourner to all the lesser royal funerals, followed in 1682,² dying in embarrassed circumstances, and buried without the usual pomp, close to the coffin of his mother.

Apart from these, but within the same august Chapel, were laid child after child of the illegitimate progeny of Charles II. Charles Earl of Doncaster,³ son of the Duke of Monmouth and of the heiress of the House of Buccleuch; Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Cleveland and Southampton; Charles Fitz-Charles, Earl of Plymouth⁴ (transported here from Tangiers), lie in the vault which had been built for Cromwell.⁵ Charles himself, after that last scene of his life, which none can repeat after Macaulay, was 'very obscurely buried at night, without any manner of pomp, and soon forgotten, after all his vanity.' All the great officers broke 'their staves over the grave according to form.'⁶ A new vault had been made⁷ immediately after his death, at the east end of the South Aisle, which, from that time till it was superseded, as we shall see, by the Hanove-

Earl of
Doncaster,
Feb. 10,
1678-4.
Duke of
Cleveland,
Nov. 3,
1730.
Earl of
Plymouth,
buried Jan.
18, 1680-81.

CHARLES
II., died
Feb. 6,
buried Feb.
14, 1684-5.

¹ Evelyn, ii. 189.

² Crull, p. 119. (Register.) MS. Herald's College.

³ Register.

⁴ Of the other natural sons of Charles II., the Duke of St. Albans Duke of St. was buried in St. Andrew's Chapel, attracted thither by Albans. his wife, Diana de Vere (Register, 1726; see Chapter Duke of IV.); and the Duke of Richmond in the Lennox vault. Richmond. (Ibid.)

⁵ Crull, p. 111.

⁶ Evelyn's *Diary*, iii. 138; Register.

⁷ Feb. 8, Herald's College.

rian dynasty, was known as 'the Royal Vault.'¹ Thus reposes² one of the most popular and the least deserving of monarchs, over whose unmarked grave Rochester's words rise to our minds:—

Here lies our sovereign lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.

In the same narrow vault, equally unmarked by any praise or blame, and buried with a plainness arising either from the indifference natural on the accession of a rival House, or from the simplicity of his own character,³ reposes one of the least popular, but by his public acts, one of the most deserving of monarchs—William III. His grave endeared the Abbey to the Nonconformist poet:⁴—

Preserve, O venerable pile,
Inviolat thy sacred trust,
To thy cold arms the British Isle
Weeping commits her richest dust.

'The remains of James II. had but a short time before been escorted in the dusk of the evening, by a slender retinue, to the Chapel of the English Benedictines at Paris, and deposited there in the vain hope that, at

¹ Archives of the Lord Chamberlain's Office. Communicated by the kindness of Mr. Doyne Bell.

² It is stated in Clarke's *Life of James II.* (ii. 6) that the rites of the Church of England were not used. The account preserved in Herald's College proves that they were. The Scottish Covenanters rejoiced that their oppressor had been buried with the burial of an ass; but the London housemaids all wore a fragment of black crape. (Macaulay, i. 444.)

³ His coffin-plate is distinguished from all the others on the royal coffins by the extreme brevity of the enumeration of his titles, which are given with the barest initials.

⁴ Watts's *Works*, iv. 490.

WILLIAM
III., died
March 8,
buried
April 12,
1702-3.

some future time, they would be laid with kingly pomp at Westminster, among the graves of the Plantagenets and Tudors.¹ The actual result was still less within the ken of the mourners, that over their ultimate resting-place in the church of St. Germain, a monument should be erected to his memory by a descendant of the dynasty that had taken his throne—'*Regio Cineri Pietas Regia*.' His first wife, Anne Hyde,² daughter of Lord Clarendon, and mother of the two Stuart Queens, lies in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots, beneath the coffin of Elizabeth of Bohemia, ancestress of the line which was to supplant her father's house.³ Above and around, in every direction, crushing by the accumulated weight of their small coffins the receptacles of the illustrious dust beneath, lie the numerous children of James II. who died in infancy—six⁴ sons and five daughters—and the eighteen children of Queen Anne, dying in infancy or still-born,⁵ ending with Wil-

James II.,
died Sept.
16, 1701,
buried at
Paris, and
removed to
St. Ger-
maine.

Anne Hyde,
Duchess of
York, buried
April 5,
1671.

Children of
James II.
and of
Queen Anne.
Duke of
Gloucester,
died July
30, buried
Aug. 9,
1700.

¹ Macaulay, v. 295; Clarke's *Life of James II.*, ii. 599-603. The remains, which had been distributed amongst no less than three convents in Paris, were finally collected in 1814, and placed in the parish church of St. Germain-en-Laye, where the present monument was erected by George IV. in 1826. (Pettigrew's *Epitaphs*, pp. 258, 259.)

² Keepe, pp. 106-110.

³ The last interment in this vault was that of the infant Prince George William, second son of George II., when Prince of Wales, who was carefully embalmed by Dr. Mead, Sir Hans Sloane, and other eminent physicians, and placed there on Feb. 16, 1717. This was probably the occasion when Dart saw the vault (ii. 53). The child was removed to its mother's side on her death in 1737, in George II.'s vault, where it now is.

⁴ Including a natural son, James Darnley, probably the son of Catherine Sedley. See Appendix.

⁵ Dart, ii. 52, 53. This was called sometimes 'the Royal,' but more

liam Duke of Gloucester, the last hope of the race—thus withered, as it must have seemed, by the doom of Providence.¹

The two last sovereigns of that race close the series of the unfortunate dynasty in the Southern Aisle, over which the figure of their ancestress presides with such tragical solemnity.

MARY II.,
died Dec. 28,
1694.

The funeral of Mary was long remembered as the saddest and most august that Westminster had ever seen.² While the Queen's remains lay in state at Whitehall, the neighbouring streets were filled every day, from sunrise to sunset, by crowds which made all traffic impossible. The two Houses with their maces followed the hearse—the Lords robed in scarlet and ermine, the Commons in long black mantles. No preceding Sovereign had ever been attended to the grave by a Parliament: for, till then, the Parliament had always expired with the Sovereign. . . . The whole Magistracy of the City swelled the procession. The banners of England and France, Scotland and Ireland, were carried by great nobles before the corpse. The pall was borne by the chiefs of the illustrious houses of Howard, Seymour, Grey, and Stanley. On the gorgeous coffin of purple and gold were laid the crown and sceptre of the realm. The day was well suited to such a ceremony. The sky was dark and troubled, and a few ghastly flakes of snow fell on the black plumes of the funeral car. Within the Abbey, nave, choir, and transept were in a blaze with innumerable waxlights. The body was deposited under a sumptuous canopy in the centre of the church while the Primate (Tenison) preached.³ The earlier part of his discourse was deformed by pedantic divisions and subdivisions:

Her funeral,
March 5,
1694-5.

often 'the Royal Family Vault,' as distinct from the 'Royal Vault' at the east end. (MS. Heralds' College.)

¹ Register.

² Macaulay, iv. 534, 535.

³ On Eccles. vii. 14. The Dean performed the service.

but towards the close he told what he had himself seen and heard with a simplicity and earnestness more affecting than the most skilful rhetoric. Through the whole ceremony the distant booming of cannon was heard every minute from the batteries of the Tower.¹

A robin redbreast,² which had taken refuge in the Abbey, was seen constantly on her hearse, and was looked upon with tender affection for its seeming love to the lamented Queen.

QUEEN
ANNE, died
Aug. 1,
buried Aug.
24, 1714.
Prince
George of
Denmark,
died Oct. 28,
buried Nov.
18, 1708.

Anne was buried in the vault beside her sister Mary and her husband Prince George of Denmark. Her unwieldy frame filled a coffin larger even than that of her gigantic spouse.³ An inquisitive antiquary went to see the vault before it was bricked up.⁴ It was full from side to side, and was then closed, amidst the indignant lamentations of the adherents of the extinct dynasty :

Where Anna rests, with kindred ashes laid,
What funeral honours grace her injur'd shade?
A few faint tapers glimmer'd through the night,
And scanty sable shock'd the loyal sight.
Though millions wail'd her, none compos'd her train, —
Compell'd to grieve, forbidden to complain.⁵

It was not to be expected that George I., as much a foreigner in England as had been the first Norman Princes who lie at Caen and Fontevrault, should be buried elsewhere than amongst his ancestors at Hanover. But George II. and his Queen Caroline are again

¹ Macanlay's account is taken from the Heralds' College.

² Sketch in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

³ Strickland, xii. 459.

⁴ Thoresby's *Diary*, ii. 252. — The five coffins are described in the Register for August 24, 1714. The names on the five Royal graves were first inscribed in 1866.

⁵ Samuel Weale, in *Atterbury's Letters*, ii. 426.

genuine personages of English History and of the English Abbey. In the centre of the Chapel of Henry VII., which under the auspices of his great minister had been animated with a new life by the banners of the remodelled Order of the Bath,¹ were deposited the royal pair. Queen Caroline, the most discriminating patroness of learning and philosophy that down to that time had ever graced the throne of England — endeared to every reader of the master-works of historical fiction by her appearance in the 'Heart of Midlothian' — was buried in that newly-opened vault,² with the sublime music, then first composed, of Handel's Anthem — 'When the ear heard her, then it blessed her; and when the eye saw her, it gave witness to her. How are the mighty fallen! She that was great among the nations, and Princess among the provinces.'³ Her husband, as a last proof of his attachment, gave directions that his remains and those of his wife should be mingled together. Accordingly, the two coffins were placed in a large black marble sarcophagus inscribed with their joint names, with their sceptres crossed, and one side of each of the wooden coverings withdrawn. In that vast tomb they still repose, and the two planks still lean against the eastern wall.⁴

More than twenty years passed before the King followed. It is probably the last direct royal reminiscence

THE
HOUSE OF
HANOVER.

George I.,
died June
11, 1737,
buried at
Hanover.

Queen
Caroline, of
Anspach,
died Nov. 20,
buried
Dec. 17,
1737.

¹ See Chapter II.

² There was much confusion at the funeral. (Chapter Book, 1737.) The Psalms were not sung, and the Lesson was omitted. (Precentor's Book, 1737.)

³ *Gent. Mag.*, 1737, pp. 763-7.

⁴ So they were seen at an accidental opening of the vault in 1871.

of Edward the Confessor, that in the extravagant eulogies published on George II.'s death, George II., died Oct. 25, 1760. his devotion was compared to that of St. Edward.¹ His funeral must be left to Horace Walpole to describe : —

Do you know, I had the curiosity to go to the burying t'other night ; I had never seen a royal funeral ; nay, I walked as a rag of quality, which I found would His funeral, Nov. 11, 1760. be, and so it was, the easiest way of seeing it. It is absolutely a noble sight. The Prince's Chamber, hung with purple, and a quantity of silver lamps, the coffin under a canopy of purple velvet, and six vast chandeliers of silver on high stands, had a very good effect. The Ambassador from Tripoli and his son were carried to see that chamber. The procession, through a line of foot-guards, every seventh man bearing a torch, the horse-guards lining the outside, their officers with drawn sabres and crape sashes on horseback, the drums muffled, the fifes, bells tolling, and minute-guns — all this was very solemn. But the charm was the entrance of the Abbey, where we were received by the Dean and Chapter in rich robes, the choir and almsmen bearing torches ; the whole Abbey so illuminated, that one saw it to greater advantage than by day ; the tombs, long aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly, and with the happiest *chiaroscuro*. There wanted nothing but incense, and little chapels here and there, with priests saying mass for the repose of the defunct ; yet one could not complain of its not being Catholic enough. I had been in dread of being coupled with some boy of ten years old ; but the heralds were not very accurate, and I walked with George Grenville, taller and

¹ Smollett, vi. 372. — For the details, see *Gent. Mag.* (1760), p. 539. The heart had been previously deposited in the vault (on Sunday, October 9) by the Lord Chamberlain. The procession entered by the north door. The service was read by the Dean of Westminster (Bishop Pearce), though the two Archbishops were present.

older, to keep me in countenance. When we came to the Chapel of Henry VII., all solemnity and decorum ceased ; no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would ; the yeomen of the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin ; the Bishop read sadly, and blundered in the prayers ; the fine chapter, 'Man that is born of a woman,' was chaunted, not read ; and the anthem, besides being immeasurably tedious, would have served as well for a nuptial. The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland, heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances. He had a dark-brown adonis, and a cloak of black cloth, with a train of five yards. Attending the funeral of a father could not be pleasant : his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand upon it near two hours ; his face bloated and distorted with his late paralytic stroke, which has affected too one of his eyes, and placed over the mouth of the vault, in which, in all probability, he must himself so soon descend ; think how unpleasant a situation ! He bore it all with a firm and unaffected countenance. This grave scene was fully contrasted by the burlesque Duke of Newcastle. He fell into a fit of crying the moment he came into the chapel, and flung himself back in a stall, the Archbishop hovering over him with a smelling-bottle ; but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy, and he ran about the chapel with his glass to spy who was or was not there — spying with one hand, and mopping his eyes with the other. Then returned the fear of catching cold ; and the Duke of Cumberland, who was sinking with heat, felt himself weighed down, and turning round, found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing upon his train, to avoid the chill of the marble. It was very theatric to look down into the vault, where the coffin lay, attended by mourners with lights. Clavering, the groom of the bedchamber, refused to sit up with the body, and was dismissed by the King's order.¹

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 361-362.

Into that vault, as Walpole anticipated, soon descended the sad figure of the Duke of Cumberland, the last apparition of the Prince who, as a little child of four years old, had received in that same chapel his knightly sword,¹ and who grew up to be the ablest and the fiercest of the family. Frederick Prince of Wales was already there. His wife Augusta followed, after seeing her son, George III., mount the throne. His sisters, Caroline and Amelia,² and his younger children, are all in the same vault; ending with Edward Augustus, the Albino Duke of York, who was transported hither in state from Monaco, where he died, and (last of the family) Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, the subject of so much real scandal and fictitious romance. No monument commemorates any of these Princes, and till within the last few years their graves were unmarked by any name.³

It was the close of George III.'s reign that witnessed the final separation of the royal interments from Westminster Abbey. His two youngest children, Alfred and Octavius, had been laid on each side of George II. and Queen Caroline; but their remains were removed to the vault constructed by their father under the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor, where he and his numerous progeny were with a few exceptions interred; thus, by a singular rebound of feeling, restoring

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, died Oct. 31, buried Nov. 10, 1765. Family of George II.

Duke of York, died Sept. 17, buried Nov. 3, 1767.

Duke of Cumberland, died Sept. 18, buried Sept. 23, 1790.

George III.'s vault at Windsor.

¹ See Chapter II.

² A touching account of her funeral is given by Carter. (*Gent. Mag.* lxix. pt. ii. p. 942.) Prince George William, who died in 1718, was transferred thither from the Stuart vault.

³ The names were added (from the engraving of the vault in Neale) in 1866. George IV., it is said, had the intention of erecting a monument to Frederick Prince of Wales in St. Paul's, 'Westminster being

to that Chapel the honour of royal sepulture, which had been originally intended for it by its founder, Henry VII. It is an almost exact copy of his grandfather's vault at Westminster — he himself and Queen Charlotte reposing at the east end, and the Princes and Princesses in chambers on each side, leaving the central aisle for sovereigns.¹ And, though another mausoleum has arisen within the bounds of the royal domain of Windsor, the renewed splendour of the Chapel which contains the last remains of the House of Hanover well continues the transition to 'the Father of our Kings to be,' — the coming dynasty of Saxe-Coburg.

This is the close of the history of the Abbey in its connection with the tombs of the Kings and Queens of England. One more royal tomb, however, has been added, which, though not of English lineage, combines so much of European interest, so much of the generosity

overcrowded.' Letter of W. in the *Times*, April 4, 1832. A contemporary epitaph, somewhat irreverently composed on these Princes, corresponds to this neglect of their graves :

Here lies Fred,
Who was alive and is dead ;
I had much rather
Had it been his father [George II.] ;
Had it been his brother [the Duke of Cumberland]
Much better than another ;
Had it been his sister [Princess Amelia]
No one would have missed her ;
Had it been the whole generation
So much better for the nation ;
But as it's only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There's no more to be said.

¹ The last removal from the Abbey was that of a stillborn child of the King of Hanover, buried in 1817, and transported to St. George's Chapel on the night of William IV.'s funeral, in 1837. The King of Hanover, the Queen of Wurtemberg, the Princess Elizabeth of Hesse Homburg, were buried in their own vaults in Germany ; the Duke of Sussex and the Princess Sophia in Kensal Green, and the Duchess of Gloucester in the south aisle in Windsor.

of the English Church and nation, so much of the best characteristics of the Abbey, as fitly to terminate the whole series.

In the side-chapel on the south of Henry VII.'s tomb is the only modern monument of the Abbey which follows the mediæval style of architecture, and which thus marks the revival of the Gothic taste. It is the recumbent effigy of Antony,

ROYAL
EXILES.

Antony,
Duke of
Mont-
pensier, died
May 18.
buried May
26, 1807.

Duke of Montpensier, younger brother of Louis Philippe, King of the French. His end took place during his exile in England, at Salthill. Dying as he did in the Church of his fathers, and attended in his obsequies by the solemn funeral rites of that Church, he was received from the Roman Catholic chapel¹ into Westminster Abbey, and laid there, 'at half-past four in the evening,'—first in a vault by the side of a member of the Rochefoucault family, the Marquis de Montandre, who with his wife, the daughter of Ezekiel Spanheim,² was buried beneath the entrance of Henry VII.'s Chapel; and then removed

The in-
scription.

to a new vault, opened for the purpose, on the south-east corner of the Chapel, over which the tomb was afterwards erected by Westmacott. The Latin inscription was written by the old Revolutionary general, Dumouriez,³ then living in exile in England, with a grace and accuracy of diction worthy of the scholarship for which the exiled chief (who had been

¹ From the French Chapel, King Street, Portman Square. The body lay there in state. High mass was performed in the presence of the Duke of Bourbon, and a requiem sung there afterwards. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1807, pt. i. p. 584.) The account, which is in some detail, has mistaken the time, making it June 6, at half-past three.

² Appendix to Crull, p. 39.

³ This information I owe to the kindness of H. R. H. the Duke of Aumale.

educated at La Bastie) was renowned; and it records how, after his many vicissitudes, the amiable Prince at last had 'found his repose in this asylum of Kings — *hoc demum in Regum asylo requiescit.*'¹

He remains apart from that most pathetic of royal cemeteries, the burialplace of the House of Orleans, beside the ancient tower of Dreux. But the Princes of that illustrious race will not grudge to Westminster Abbey this one link, uniting the glories of the insular Protestant sanctuary of England to the continental Catholic glories of France, by that invisible chain of hospitality and charity which stretches across the widest gulf of race, and time, and creed, and country; uniting those whom all the efforts of all the kings and all the ecclesiastics who lie in Westminster or St. Denys have not been able to part asunder.² In the

¹ In the correspondence on the subject between Dean Vincent and the Government, preserved in the Receiver's Office, the Dean proposes some alterations 'unless the inscription is sacred; that is, so approved by the Duke of Orleans that it may not be touched.' It does not appear whether his suggestions were accepted. In the same correspondence, Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans (through his secretary, M. de Brovel) communicates his gratitude to 'the Most Reverend the Dean' and the Receiver, for their 'very safe and humane care,' and to 'the venerable prelate' his full approbation of the spot chosen. A difficulty was raised as to whether any one not belonging to the Royal Family could be laid there. The correspondence on this point is doubly curious — first, as showing how rigidly the limitation of the title of 'Royal' to the elder branch of the Bourbons was observed by the English Court; secondly, how little was known of the many non-regal interments in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Even the Dean seems to have been ignorant of the burial of any person of inferior rank, except the Duchess of Richmond and the two Dukes of Buckingham. There are, in fact, not less than seventy.

² In the same vault as the Duke of Montpensier, was interred (with the burialplace marked) Louise de Savoy, the Queen of Queen Louis XVIII., who died at Hartwell. Her remains were ^{Louise de Savoy, Nov.} removed to Sardinia on March 5, 1811 (Burial Register); 23, 1810.

corresponding Chapel on the northern side was to have been erected a corresponding monument to the unfortunate heir of the great rival dynasty of the Napoleons. The universal burst of sympathy at his untimely death in the South African war, the close of a great historic race, the stainless character and gallant bearing of the youth, the tragical and romantic incident of the representative of the great Napoleon falling under the British flag, the sense of reparation due for a signal misfortune—all combined to render such a commemoration singularly in accordance with the traditions of the Abbey, which has always embraced within its walls these landmarks of human life and history:—

Sunt lacrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

A majority of the House of Commons, however, a year after the monument had been proposed and accepted, adopted a resolution declaring it inconsistent with the national character of the Abbey. The proposal to erect the monument was in consequence withdrawn, and by command of the Queen it was placed in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. There has been but one precedent for such interference with memorials of the dead in the Abbey—that of the Parliamentary magnates, under pressure of the strong outburst of party feeling that followed the Restoration. Posterity will judge how far the ungenerous spirit which governed the Parliament of 1661 survived, in an altered form, in the Parliament of 1880.

and at the same time the coffins of two Spanish ambassadors—one, that of Don Pedro Ronquillo (see Evelyn's *Memoirs*, iii. 41), which had lain in the Lennox Chapel since the time of William III. (Crull, p. 107), the other, which had been deposited in the Ormond vault, March 2, 1811—were sent back to Spain.

Close beside the tomb of the Duke of Montpensier,¹ by the gracious desire of the Queen, and with the kindly approval of the gifted chief of the Orleans family, have been laid the last remains of one whose name will be ever dear to Westminster, — mourned in France hardly less than in England — followed to her grave by the tears of all ranks, from her Royal Mistress down to her humblest and poorest neighbours, whom she had alike faithfully served, — by the representatives of the various Churches, and of the science and literature, both of England and America, whom she delighted to gather round her, — enshrined in the Abbey which she had so dearly loved, and of which for twelve bright years she had been the glory and the charm.

Lady
Augusta
Stanley,
died March
1, buried
March 9,
1876.

¹ This notice belongs more properly to the following chapter, but its insertion here will be forgiven.

[And there, on Monday, July 25, 1881, was laid to rest her husband, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (the author of this volume), who had been Dean of Westminster from 1863 to his death in the deanery on July 18, 1881. He was followed by the Prince of Wales, as representative of the Sovereign, by other members of the Royal Family, by representatives of the three Estates of the Realm, of the Cabinet Ministers, the literature, arts, science, and religion of the country, and by a large concourse of the working-men of Westminster — the majority mourning for one who had been their personal friend. The coffin was covered with memorials and expressions of regret from high and low in England, Scotland, France, Germany, and America, and from the members of the Armenian Church. He rests in the same grave with his beloved wife, in the Abbey which he loved so dearly, which he cherished as 'the likeness of the whole English Constitution,' for the care and illustration of which he laboured unceasingly, and with which his name will always be associated.]

Arthur
Penrhyn
Stanley, died
July 18,
buried July
25, 1881.

